

THE *Nation*

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July 3, 1948

Nominee Nobody Loves

Why It Had to Be Dewey

BY ROBERT BENDINER

The Republican Platform

AN EDITORIAL

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Why The Nation Was Banned - - Freda Kirchwey

Preview of September - - - - J. Alvarez del Vayo

Thomas Mann as Critic - - - - Jacques Barzun

Clothes Cost Too Much! - - Winifred Raushenbush

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THAT STRANGE SOUND EMANATING FROM the White House last Saturday was the President whistling in the dark. Callers reported Mr. Truman as "definitely encouraged about the whole political situation" as a result of the Republican nomination of Thomas E. Dewey and Earl Warren. This is a little hard to square with two other opinions attributed to the President within the past few weeks. One was the designation of Dewey as the opponent he would find hardest to beat, a selection that was needless to make and fantastic to publicize. The other was the tribute he paid to Mr. Warren in the course of his recent visit to the Pacific Coast. Not only did he hail the Californian as an "excellent governor," but he went far afield to suggest that Warren was "at heart a Democrat." In view of these hapless comments, it is farcical for the President's supporters to put out stories now of how relieved Mr. Truman is that the Republicans did not choose Senator Vandenberg, who was, incidentally, fourth on his list of G. O. P. candidates in the order of formidableness. But one need not depend on the President's badly timed estimates to be certain that the work of the Philadelphia convention, described on page 6, was a severe jolt to such hopes as he still wistfully entertained. The plain truth is that the Democratic Party will have to offer someone far stronger than Mr. Truman if it is to stand half a chance in November. And that someone had better come forth quickly and do a job of organizing. Senator Vandenberg proved conclusively at Philadelphia that a coy desire for a spontaneous draft is no match for a candidacy openly declared and vigorously promoted. *

IN ITS HASTE TO LEAVE THE NATION'S business and get back to partisan politics, Congress inexcusably omitted to provide the loan necessary for starting work on the new United Nations headquarters. Like a bad boy running from school before finishing his lessons, Congress should be recalled to attend to this essential detail. If anyone regards this item as too unimportant to justify an interruption of electioneering, there is another unfinished task of superlative domestic interest—housing. The new Republican platform favors a housing program, and Senator Taft is one author of the housing bill which died in the recent session of Congress. Housing is certain to be a hot issue in the cam-

paign. If the Republicans mean what they say, they will come back to Washington and do something about it. If they do not do so under their own steam, President Truman could only gain by calling them into special session before the election to face the issue. They have had several years to discuss it; he could not properly be accused of rushing them. If they passed the bill, he could claim a large share of the credit. If they fozzled it again before November, the voters would know where to place the blame.

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WHAT IS AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR the bitter plight of the European Jews? Americans have a worldwide reputation for blandly overlooking their own faults while loudly condemning the faults of others. We justly assail the British and the Arabs for their part in frustrating the effort of the Jews to establish a home in Palestine and to be admitted to it. We could do so with better grace if we had allowed those Jews who wanted a home in the United States to enter this country. Now, after considering for two years a bill which would admit 400,000 displaced persons to the United States, Congress has passed it with amendments so limiting the law as to admit only 205,000, of which no more than 6,000 can be Jews, while Nazis from the Baltic states are allowed to come in. The Republican platform takes credit for "a haven for displaced persons provided." The party, for its controlling part in this shameful procedure, deserves repudiation by all who care for their country's integrity or for humanity.

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THE BERLIN CRISIS MAY LEAD TO AN ACTUAL clash between Russia and the Western occupation powers, or it may be the point of departure for a new effort to reach general agreement; matters have been allowed to go so far that a mere truce seems to be ruled out. To hold a population of 2,500,000 on the verge of starvation for ten days and then, after a respite of a week or so, to begin the same game over again is an impossible strategy for the long run. This time, the choice is more drastic, with the tactics of cold war being rapidly left behind. Hope lies in the fact that the Russians have usually shown themselves prepared to backtrack when the further aggravation of an issue threatened to cut off their last avenue of retreat. Absolute intransigence is almost as difficult for the Western Allies. In order to resist the Russians to the last ditch, the minimum requisite is unanim-

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ity of thought among the other occupying powers. Possibly this will be achieved under pressure from the United States, which seems ready to back General Clay in his announced determination to remain in Berlin by all means "short of war." But Bidault is obviously reluctant and has hinted very clearly that France would welcome the renewal of four-power conversations on Germany. And even Mr. Bevin, while skeptical of general talks, is ready to discuss ways out of the impasse at Berlin. Both realize that the Western position there has been seriously weakened by the establishment of a trizonal government headquarters at Frankfurt, and both would accept some compromise to reach agreement with Moscow. Whether this attitude or General Clay's will prevail depends largely on the Russians. An obstinate determination to drive the Western Allies out of Berlin would reestablish unanimity among partners whose differences today are quite perceptible. The Russians will persist in their present tactics only if they want a real showdown with the United States.

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EGYPT'S VIOLATION OF THE PALESTINE TRUCE

was neither a misunderstanding nor an accident. It was deliberate, and so far it has been successful. The United Nations has withdrawn its observers, and if the Israeli try to take advantage of Count Bernadotte's explicit permission to send a food convoy to their surrounded colonies in the Negev desert, they will do so at their own risk. Meanwhile, in Rhodes, the U. N. Mediator and his aides are discussing the "delicate situation," while at Lake Success, Faris El Khouri, chairman of the Security Council, who represents Syria, Egypt's partner in aggression, has ruled out a meeting of the council to consider the Egyptian violation. Particular point is given to the whole affair by a new memorandum submitted to the U. N. this week by The Nation Associates. It presents, both in facsimile and translated form, certain documents removed from the files of the German Foreign Office which prove the intimate alliance existing during the war between King Farouk of Egypt and the Nazi high command, as well as between Farouk and the Mufti. The very plan to bomb Tel Aviv, ruthlessly carried out by the Egyptian air force before the truce intervened, was one submitted to the Nazis by the Mufti in 1943 and abandoned at that time only for lack of an adequate task force. Farouk's intimacy with the Germans included espionage and a plan, drawn up by Ambassador Ettel and transmitted by the Mufti, to transport the King to German-controlled territory in order to save him from an alleged British plot against his life. Throughout the negotiations, Farouk expressed his full sympathy with German aims and his support of the Mufti and "all those who work with him for the success and victory of the Axis." Barring Hitler, the alliance is still in operation; Farouk and the Mufti are still acting in close collaboration. The facts revealed

for the first time in our memorandum are not mere interesting fragments of history, but a sharp commentary on the Arab leaders who, with the help of Britain and our own State Department, have been able to carry on Hitler's war against the Jews in open defiance of the United Nations. These facts should be kept in mind by Count Bernadotte as he considers Egypt's violation of the truce.

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HOLLOW WITH FATIGUE BUT HIGH IN morale, the men and women at 164 Duane Street, in the early hours of June 23, tenderly put to bed Volume 1, Number 1 of the New York *Star* (formerly *PM*). The first edition had forty-eight pages and \$25,000 worth of advertising, including an ad for a doll on sale at Macy's. This may signify the first crack in the solid icy wall that had met *PM* when it went to the major department stores. One of the most cheerful omens for the new paper is that there is money in the bank and more promised to Publisher Bartley Crum and Editor Joseph Barnes. They are not saying whose money it is until "certain legal matters are settled." A chief objective of the new owners is to be obligated to no faction while maintaining a broadly liberal position. To this end, the *Star* announced in its first issue that it intended to respect the convention, deliberately defied by *PM*, "that news can be separated from opinion." In addition, editorials will be unsigned and speak for the paper as an entity. Another of the *Star's* objectives is an audience of approximately 250,000 readers, double the present circulation. It has redesigned its front page to include the day's half-dozen top stories rather than one or two news-feature headlines. It has also taken on some top-notch new talent and the syndicated cartoons of Edmund Duffy and Bill Mauldin. There have been no editorial firings to date, although some of the staff—most notably, former Editor John P. Lewis—have chosen to resign, and a few other old hands may find it difficult to adjust to a reduction in prerogatives. But the tone of the office is generally one of excitement and high hope. "We have had the problem," said Jay Odell, the Acting Managing Editor, last week, "of having to work in three tenses at once." Having weathered the transition from past to present, the *Star* now looks eagerly to the future. We wish it all success.

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TWENTY-FOUR INTER-RACIAL COLLEGE groups met recently at Roosevelt College in Chicago to form a unique national college fraternity, Beta Sigma Tau. The new fraternity elects members without regard to race, religion, or national origin, outlaws the "black-ball," and frowns upon hazing, secrecy, or excessive initiation fees and dues. It now has active chapters at the University of California, Ohio State University, the University of Buffalo, the University of Indiana, and Ohio

Wesleyan University, in addition to Roosevelt. To offset the stultifying influence of the alumni—even alumni who were liberal when young—Beta Sigma Tau's constitution provides that each college chapter shall have three voting members at the annual convention, each alumni chapter only two. Eleven of the groups attending the Chicago meeting withdrew to form an organization of their own—the American Commons Club—because they dislike the use of a Greek-letter name. The appearance of these two national non-discriminatory organizations is at least a sign that American student opinion has begun to attain a new maturity.

The Republican Platform

THE platform of a major political party in the United States is not a serious pledge to the citizen. Nobody voting for the candidates who "stand on" it can have the slightest assurance that its promises will be fulfilled, or even that its words will be interpreted to mean what they seem to him to mean when he reads them. The party itself is not a disciplined and efficient unit which can be mobilized to execute a coherent program. It is an uneasy coalition held together mainly by the effort to win office, jobs, and power, but it is scarcely of one mind about anything else. The platform-maker is expected to produce a circus tent which will cover all the factions, and to embellish it with enough ballyhoo so that a majority of the voters will be attracted inside.

Nevertheless, platforms have a significance all their own. They play a ceremonial role in the strange rites by which we nominate candidates and choose our rulers and could no more be omitted than the awful oratory, the synthetic "demonstrations" which follow nominating speeches, the fiction that individual delegates make up their minds which nominee would be the greatest statesman and cast their ballots accordingly. A platform is a ritualistic obeisance to the civic conscience of the nation, an intangible but at times a very real force. Candidates make some use of them to get elected; platforms persist for awhile as documents by which the governing party may be called to account. Like any ceremony, they have a symbolic content, and may indicate the mental condition of those responsible for them.

The new Republican platform is in this sense the mask of a guilty conscience. Fresh from the sins of a schizophrenic and blundering Congress, the party proclaims how well it did and how wicked are the opposing party and the President. And it boasts, by implication, how much better it is going to behave in the future than it has in the past. Yet the vagueness of wording and the hesitations betray the lack of much single-mindedness on the part of the framers. A few examples of the treatment given to important issues will make this clear.

Only by the most heroic efforts at the last moment had

the internationalist leaders prevented Congress from renegeing on its commitment to European recovery by voting insufficient funds. The platform declaration for foreign aid inserts qualifying clauses like "within the limits of our own economic welfare" and "business-like and efficient administration," which could justify everybody from Senator Vandenberg to Representative Taber. The final version omits the promise of the first draft to "implement with appropriations any commitment made by legislative enactment."

Congress had almost cut the heart out of the reciprocal-trade-agreement program by extending it for only one year instead of three and increasing the role of the bipartisan Tariff Commission at the expense of executive discretion. The platform promises support of reciprocal trade, "at all times safeguarding our own industry and agriculture." Anything from tariff reduction to protectionism could march under that banner.

With zest, the platform leaps at the opening offered it by the Democratic Administration to write a strong and ringing plank on Israel; the Republican Congress had not been required to legislate on this subject, though it did close America's doors to all but 6,000 displaced Jews.

On inflation, the Republicans are extremely vulnerable. They contributed largely to the ending of price control and weakened the one substantial counter-inflationary force—a budget surplus—by forcing through tax reduction. They refused to adopt any new anti-inflation measures proposed by the President. Now they accuse the Democrats of causing inflation—and the Democrats are not wholly guiltless. In one passage, the platform takes credit for tax reduction; in another, it takes credit for the surplus which tax reduction will reduce. In still others, it promises to reduce taxes some more and abandon to the states important sources of revenue. It declares for cutting the cost of government in the passage on inflation, and in other passages promises various increases in governmental expenditure. Everyone knows how that conflict will end. And waving a ludicrously obvious red herring, it closes the inflation section with a pledge to "root out communism."

Labor's special interest is in repeal of the Taft-Hartley act, which the Republican Congress passed. The platform does not mention it by name but faces both ways by patting the party on the back for "a sensible reform of the labor law" while pledging "continuing study to improve labor-management relations." Mr. Taft could have run on this declaration; so could a candidate who wants to amend the law out of existence.

Congress for the second year in succession failed to enact the housing bill sponsored by the Republican leader of the Senate, even after the House had cut out of it slum clearance and federal aid for low-rent housing. The platform plumps boldly for "federal aid to the states for local slum clearance and low-rental housing

programs," but "only where there is a need that cannot be met either by private enterprise or by the states and localities." The real-estate lobby says there is no such need. The question is: whose judgment will prevail?

Many other noble causes are supported, such as development of water power, reclamation activities, conservation of natural resources. But the platform promises to return the tidelands oil to the states, and offers "full protection" of "the rights of the states" in water uses—a euphemism for turning over such resources to private interests.

The voters had better forget the platform if they want to exercise any real influence on governmental action. They had better concentrate on the records of the candidates and the forces behind them. And they had better pay particular attention to the candidates for Congress.

"The Nation" Banned

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE report that *The Nation* had been banned from the New York public schools on account of Paul Blanshard's articles on the Roman Catholic church came first in the form of a rumor—to us almost incredible. We found it hard to believe that the Board of Superintendents had taken such a step under any circumstances; harder, that it had acted in secret so that we, and the public, found out about it only through a friendly tip-off. Perhaps the similar action of the Newark schools last January should have forewarned us that such things could happen here; but Newark's educational authorities are overwhelmingly Catholic and the domination of its schools by the church is notorious. New York is, after all, a city where civil rights and a lively clash of opinion are old habits. No church or political organization has been able to put the public schools in its tucker bag for long; too many competing civic groups assert their interest in public education. Although a few books have been rejected by the school libraries, nothing so drastic as the banning of a responsible journal of general circulation had previously been attempted.

For these reasons, we doubted the rumor when we first heard it, but inquiry quickly showed that it was true. Without previous notice or subsequent announcement, the Board of Superintendents on June 8 had dropped *The Nation* from the list of publications to be subscribed to for school libraries and classroom use. If the fact had not leaked, the list would have been accepted without discussion and the omission gone unnoticed.

We learned of the ban in the afternoon of June 22. The next day, it was admitted by Dr. William Jansen, Superintendent of Schools, and by Maximilian Moss, acting chairman of the Board of Education. On June 24, the *New York Times* carried confirmation of the story

and statements by both officials: Dr. Jansen approved the action of the Superintendents; Mr. Moss deplored it. At a meeting the same afternoon, the Board of Education acted upon the new list of publications along with dozens of other more or less routine items. I give this chronology not so much to show how quick and automatic is the process by which a major act of censorship can be carried through as to emphasize a much more encouraging fact: at least half a dozen important civic organizations, hearing about the ban either the night before the meeting of the Board of Education or on the day itself, sent representatives to the meeting with prepared statements backing up our protest and calling for a public hearing before the decision was approved. Their statements were animated by an urgent sense of the threat to all free expression implied in the action of the Superintendents. Although Acting Chairman Moss argued that protests should be lodged with the Board of Superintendents rather than the Board of Education, he allowed *The Nation* and its backers full opportunity to state their objections. For this he deserves great credit, as he does for his own outspoken disagreement with the decision to drop this journal. His attitude was in striking contrast to the vituperative statement of his colleague, George A. Timone, whose attack on *The Nation* carried a clear echo of the old tirades of the Christian Front, with which he loyally cooperated.

That the Board of Education in the end, without dissenting vote, indorsed the expurgated list is deplorable. But it does not close the case. *The Nation* will be shut out of the public schools as of July 1, but I dare predict that when they reopen on September 13, it will be back again. Its banning will not be tolerated by the liberal and free-minded citizens of New York.

In its report of the Board of Education meeting last Thursday, the *Herald Tribune* named a few of the periodicals that remain on the approved list. Among them are the *American Hairdresser*, the *Barbers' Journal*, the *Jewish Bakers' Voice*, and several others whose appeal would seem a bit limited. But the names are significant as well as amusing; if the spirit that forced *The Nation* out is allowed to control the Board's policy, journals such as these will serve as an apt symbol of the new attitude toward freedom of information in the school. At least they are non-controversial; at least they can be trusted to avoid dangerous thoughts or facts unpalatable to special groups. *The Nation* was excluded from Hitler's Reich, but I presume subscribers to the *American Hairdresser* got their copies regularly. By banning *The Nation*, the authorities have set their foot on a road whose destination is plainly marked. In education, as in questions of civil rights, New York has set a standard for the country. There is no question whatever that arbitrary censorship such as this, if it is not reversed, will be promptly imitated in other cities, for intolerance is as contagious as decency.

EVEN now, the spread of thought-control has been reported with concern by teachers and parents groups, by librarians, and by labor and civil-liberties organizations. The idea that students in the schools should be insulated from criticism of the attitudes and doctrines of the Roman Catholic church while being freely exposed to attacks on every sort of radical political philosophy is only one aspect of the problem. The growing power of the church in America makes it a most important one—as Mr. Blanshard's articles have amply proved. But the church is a single pressure group. The greater danger was revealed, quite unconsciously I am sure, by Superintendent of Schools Jansen in answer to a question aimed at the Board of Superintendents by Paul Blanshard. Citing objections by the Catholic hierarchy to a recent article on the Reformation in *Life*, Mr. Blanshard asked whether the board was going to ban that magazine from the schools. Dr. Jansen didn't know, he said, whether the school libraries subscribed to *Life*, but if they did, and if the issue "is offensive to any group, then it will be banned."

This astonishing statement goes to the heart of the business. Censorship in a dictatorship is a fairly simple affair; the state merely deletes or suppresses anything that runs counter to the ruling ideology. In a democracy, censorship is more complex but no less intolerable since it is exercised by government agencies under the dictate of groups strong enough to wield political power—the Roman Catholic church, the National Association of Manufacturers, the power interests. "Any group" is a

A Common Fight

Protests against the banning of *The Nation* were presented at the meeting of the Board of Education on June 24 by the following persons:

- ROSE V. RUSSELL, Legislative Representative of the Teachers Union, Local 555, U. P. W.-C. I. O.
- MRS. CHARLES SHIPMAN, Executive Secretary of the New York Teachers Guild, Local 2, A. F. of L.
- OLIVE MCKAY, Director of School-Community Relations, United Parents Associations.
- FREDERICK C. McLAUGHLIN, Educational Director of the Public Education Association.
- DAVID K. BERNINGHAUSEN, Chairman of the Committee on Intellectual Freedom, American Library Association.
- BERTRAM DIAMOND, member of the Commission on Law and Social Action, American Jewish Congress.

Since June 24, many other organizations and individuals, including the American Civil Liberties Union, have notified *The Nation* of their desire to cooperate in fighting the ban.

phrase not to be taken quite literally, for we have yet to hear of censorship based on the objections of Jews or Freethinkers, labor unions or the Communist Party. But if any of these segments of our society should acquire the will and enough influence to induce Dr. Jansen to ban *America* or the *Sunday Visitor*, we would protest just as loudly. To control the distribution of ideas or information by deferring to the sensibilities of organized groups—religious or secular—is an outrage upon democracy. In the case of *The Nation*, we are dead sure it was the pressure of the Roman Catholic church that brought about the high-handed action of the Board of Superintendents. We believe the church is today the most potent organized force opposing freedom and progress in this country. But next time, the source of pressure may be a different one. The issue is freedom to think and learn and speak even at the risk of offending some special interest.

The Nation will appeal the decision of the Board of Superintendents and the Board of Education. We have been assured of the help of various educational and labor organizations and other citizens groups. We welcome this backing and bespeak the aid of all our readers. For this is a fight that must be won if the principles we teach our children in the schools are to make any sense. I cannot do better than to repeat here the excellent words with which Acting Chairman Moss concluded his statement to the Board of Education, just before it ratified the ban: "If we tamper with these hard-fought American rights in the name of good citizenship, we make a sham of the Constitution. To me, it appears ironical for the Board of Superintendents to take any action which might abridge freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights while at the same time demanding that our teachers and children hold them sacred."

The Nominee Nobody Loves

BY ROBERT BENDINER

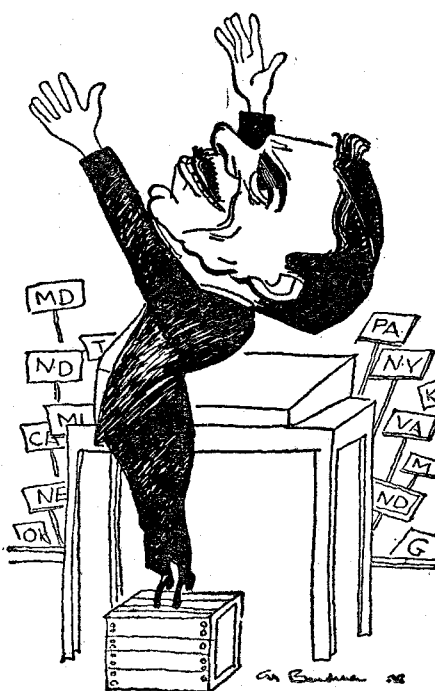
Philadelphia, June 26

OUT of 1,094 delegates to the Republican National Convention, 1,094 voted to nominate Thomas E. Dewey for President, 450 of them appearing to think it a reasonably good idea while the remaining 644 went along with emotions ranging from physical relief to sullen resignation. Republican delegates have been hoodwinked and pressured before, of course, but as a rule they either didn't know or didn't care a great deal. These delegates did know and did care, and their resentment imparted some novel twists to an otherwise desultory affair, conducted in the climate of a stokers' hold.

It was odd, for example, if not altogether unique, to hear delegates roundly boo the speaker who had the honor of offering Governor Dewey as "the man who . . ."—especially since the speaker was a Senator of the state that played host to the convention and Mr. Dewey was all but certain to win. As for the galleries, they had to be warned by Chairman Joe Martin to "refrain from making unusual noises" while the Senator performed that rite. It was odd, too, to witness a demonstration for the potential victor that ground its mechanical way along by sheer determination, prolonged by a

band that simply refused to stop blaring even after Martin threatened to have it thrown out of the hall. It was novel for the opposition to persist, more bitterly than ever, after the second ballot showed 515 votes for Dewey out of a needed 548. And it was unprecedented for a convention to give a greater ovation to a defeated candidate on the occasion of his withdrawal than it did to the victor when it was all over. Theoretically the convention nominates and the candidate accepts. In this case the candidate nominated and the convention accepted. Why?

In the first place Dewey was politically, if not personally, the most obvious and logical choice. In a party almost as wide in its ideological spread as the Democrats, here was the perfect middle-of-the-roader. Now mildly aligned with the supporters of the European Recovery Program, he had once been a harsh critic of the Administration's foreign policy, and unlike Senator Vandenberg, he had not taken occasion to go publicly to the mourners' bench. As a governor he was well out of the Congressional rows that recently raged between the Martin-Halleck-Taber cabal in the House and the Taft-Vandenberg leadership in the Senate. One of the few men in public life to venture no opinion on the Taft-Hartley



law, he was still regarded as sound enough on such matters to rate the almost suffocating embraces of the Pennsylvania Association of Manufacturers. These were delivered in the person of Senator Edward Martin on behalf of Uncle Joe Grundy, the state's aged symbol of high-tariff Republicanism, and G. Mason Owlett, now president of the association.

One of the very few Republican cab drivers I encountered in Philadelphia heaved a long sigh on the night of the nomination. "It could have been worse," he said; "they might have picked Taft." That was probably at the very moment Colonel McCormick was telling reporters, "It might have been worse. It could have been Vandenberg." Thus years of compromise and strategic silence paid off.

THE second major factor in the Dewey coup was the soundness of his strategy and the effectiveness of his tactical staff. The objectives were simple: to convince the mass of delegates from the very start that a Dewey victory was as inevitable as sin, wherefore they had better board the gravy train while there were still accommodations; and to swing over a few whole state delegations at strategic moments, presumably by the ancient method of dangling some bait before the eyes of their leaders.

To these noble ends the Dewey team performed with smoothness and precision. From the moment a delegate arrived he was given to understand which was the main tent of the circus and which the sideshows. Over the loudspeakers of the Bellevue-Stratford came a constant stream of official exhortations against undue crowding at the entrance to the Dewey headquarters. The warnings were part of the game, but they were also justified. Why wouldn't Dewey headquarters be jammed when prizes—from chewing gum and pocket combs to silk lingerie and dresses—were being doled out with the largess of a radio quiz show? At one point the Dewey people even staged a fashion show, complete with eight bathing beauties.

A bewildered foreign newspaperman asked a fellow-reporter, "How can I explain to France what this has to do with electing a President?" It was a lesser aspect of the process, to be sure, but it had its purpose. The number of visitors to the Dewey show was mechanically checked and announced daily. And it served to point up the considerably less feverish activity at rival headquarters, where guests had to content themselves with free orange juice, by courtesy of Governor Warren, or with endless renditions of a version of "I'm Looking over a Four-Leaf Clover," in which it developed that Senator Taft was the aforesaid clover, not to mention "the one we adore."

The Stassen managers appeared to be saving up their circus talent for Convention Hall, where it turned out

to be considerable, ranging from an Indian chief in full regalia to a shapely girl in sailor pants who did a nautical rumba on the rostrum.

BEHIND this façade of vaudeville salesmanship the Dewey managers carried on a steady, unrelenting drive. Herbert Brownell, the master-mind of the campaign, held at least two press conferences a day at which he invariably beamed like a cat well stuffed with canaries, talked happily if vaguely of delegations that were putting out feelers toward the Dewey camp, and hinted at sensations to come. Sometimes these essays at psychological warfare petered out, as in the case of Governor Green of Illinois, who was widely reported to be on the point of abandoning Colonel McCormick for Dewey and a shot at the vice-presidency. But by and large it was extremely effective. First Senator Martin double-crossed his own delegation, which had been committed to plump for Martin himself until it should decide otherwise. The Senator's decision to withdraw and place Dewey in nomination was made without consulting the delegation, headed by the fiery Governor Duff, and raised a storm that gave the convention its first real signs of life.

The fury with which the Martin announcement was received in the rival camps was probably out of proportion and in any case unwise. It lent credence to the Dewey propaganda that a bull's-eye had been scored, when in fact Martin had been pro-Dewey all the time and was sure to throw his votes that way ultimately. The immediate consequence of the Martin-Grundy move, which promised more than half the Pennsylvania delegation on the first ballot, was a series of quick switches by Charles Halleck of Indiana, Senator Saltonstall of Massachusetts, and Governor Driscoll of New Jersey. The bandwagon was rolling. Inevitably there was talk that Martin would be rewarded with the post of Secretary of National Defense, just as Halleck was immediately put in line for the vice-presidency.

While Dewey's tactics were scaring in the votes, his opponents were providing the third and most important ingredient for his triumph, to wit, a determined and undeviating refusal to pool their combined strength in favor of one of their number. Stassen, Taft, Warren, and Vandenberg, with their principal supporters, had in common a rousing and enthusiastic hostility toward Tom Dewey. Nobody who made the exhausting rounds of press conferences in this city's sagging hotels could be under any illusion on that score. Warren may talk now about his "old friend, Tom Dewey," and grow a bit maudlin about how willing everybody was "to adjust their differences out in the open." But back in the Hotel Warwick it all sounded different. He was hotly indignant then about "unwholesome activities" and urged his delegates to "smoke out the deals and double-dealers." Harold Stassen was if anything more outspoken as

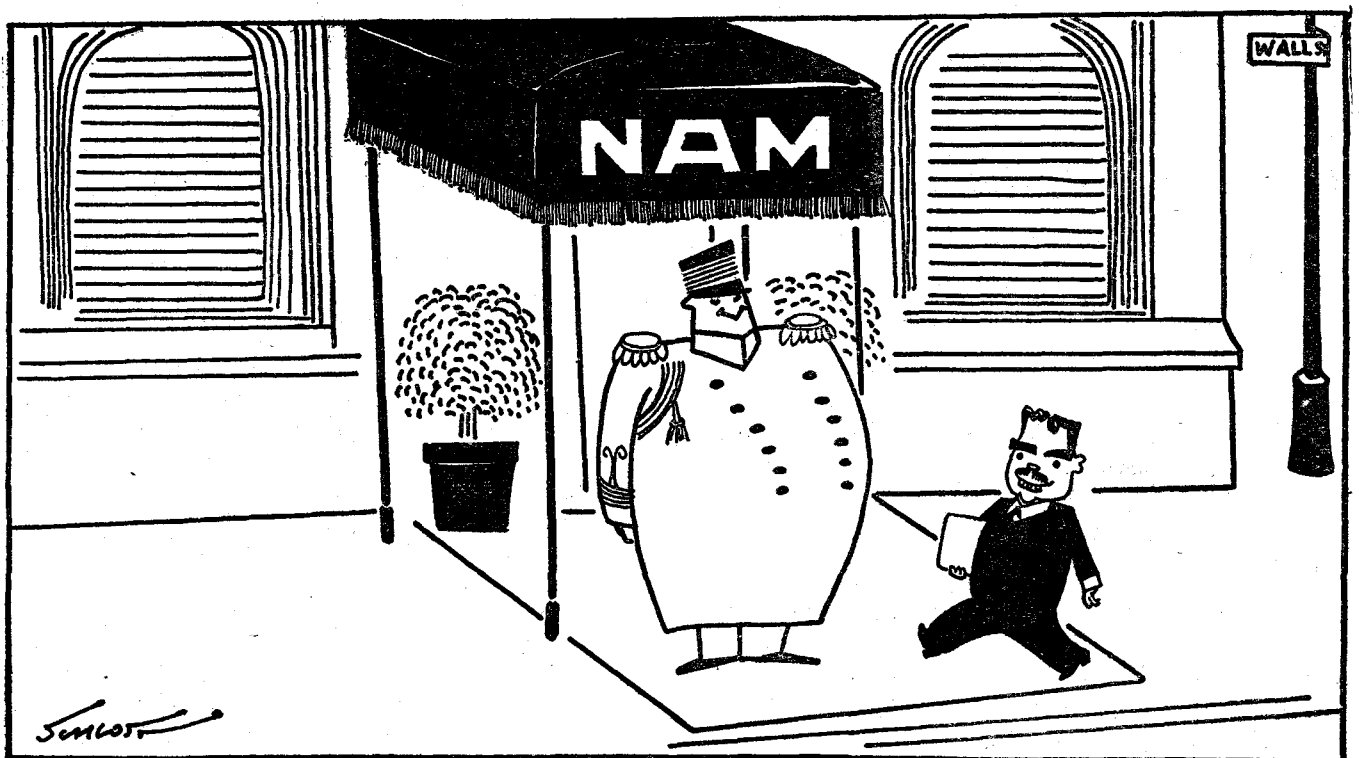
he warned that Dewey's "tactics would prejudice the chances of party victory in November" and berated the New Yorker for spreading "false rumors" concerning the actions of various wavering delegations. Senator Taft and Governor Sigler, speaking unofficially for Vandenberg, were only a little less vehement.

But this combination of resentment and dislike was only one of two common characteristics of the anti-Dewey candidates. The other was the individual ambition of each to gain the nomination for himself, and since this was the stronger emotion of the two, it effectively canceled out the other, making a true coalition impossible. Vandenberg was the one exception on this score, but though he would have made a strong coalition candidate himself, he had little strength to deliver to anyone else. His own Michigan delegation was ready from the first to go over to Dewey if it couldn't have the Senator, and his organization was the most amateurish, haphazard, and half-hearted at the convention. Stassen, for all his flirtation with Colonel McCormick, could not quite bring himself to yield to Taft, and if he had, it is more than doubtful that he could have carried much of his backing with him. Without Taft, moreover, a Stassen-Vandenberg combination would not have sufficed to overtake Dewey. And the crucial fact is that, however little he relished the prospect of a Dewey victory, Taft had from the beginning taken the position, "It will be Tom or me."

Even after the second ballot on Thursday the fight had not gone out of the anti-Dewey forces, and the contested recess was marked by feverish activity. Two hours before the convention was scheduled to meet again Warren put the question bluntly to the Stassen and Taft forces.

If they intended ultimately to swing his way, he would hold his delegates in line; otherwise he was ready to give Dewey enough votes to go over the top. That was all the Taft people needed to hear. At every contested convention there comes a moment when plotting stops and a panicky rush to the winner sets in. This was the moment.

When the delegates reassembled, Stassen himself and spokesmen for each of the other faded candidates went to the rostrum in turn, bent their respective necks to the yoke, and paid cold tribute to the victor. Several of them, particularly Senator Knowland, speaking for Warren, and Governor Sigler, for Vandenberg, made a point of expressing "confidence in the procedure of this convention." And Dewey himself, familiar with reports that he had promised some Cabinet posts several times over, assured the convention that he was "unfettered by a single obligation." As far as Charlie Halleck was concerned, the Governor was a bit too "unfettered" when he passed over the Indiana Congressman for the vice-presidency in favor of Governor Warren. But a Dewey-Halleck ticket would have been too crude, too overt a sign that Dewey had aligned himself with the most reactionary sector of the party. It might even have revived the prospect of Eisenhower as the Democratic nominee. Yet Dewey's indebtedness to Messrs. Grundy, Owlett, and Martin is too palpable to evade. The Pennsylvania Association of Manufacturers will not let him forget it, however subtly he may choose to pay off. As a first installment the surprise appointment of Representative Scott of Pennsylvania to the party's national chairmanship was not so subtle at that.



UNCLE THOMAS'S CABIN

Corrupt and Discontented

BY IRVING K. FAGAN

Philadelphia, June 23

THE fervid oratory at the Republican National Convention calling for a "sound business administration" was delivered in a setting which gave it a hollow ring. For Philadelphia, which has been controlled by a Republican machine for sixty-five years, is at present in the throes of a rip-roaring financial scandal.

Nine different investigations have been started. On May 22 William C. Foss, head of the Amusement Tax Division in the department of W. Frank Marshall, Receiver of Taxes, killed himself, leaving a note headed "How the shortage in the amuse. tax office was divided." He named six other employees and one man on the outside. One of the men accused, William H. Schaeffer, died of a heart attack two days later. Bertram Block, the police say, has admitted getting \$3,000. Another man died in 1944. Raphael I. Monks, the outsider, is under \$10,000 bail, charged with taking \$25,000. County investigators are now digging into the facts. They estimate that almost \$2,000,000 was stolen in eight years.

Marshall, who is in the bonding business on the side, has had his 650 employees bonded and has collected a 15 per cent commission from the company. In consequence, the state is investigating all city bonding practices.

The Committee of Fifteen, which was named by the City Council last November to discover possible economies in the city government or to recommend legislation creating new sources of revenue, has estimated that Marshall's office has failed to collect \$8,000,000 in city wage taxes in the past six years: a spot check by the committee of two city office buildings showed that 35 per cent of the tenants had never paid the wage tax. Marshall, despite demands from all sides that he resign, has refused to do so. And as an elected county official he can't be fired.

Charles H. Grakelow, director of the Department of Supplies and Purchases, was fired by the Republican Mayor, Barney Samuel, after the Committee of Fifteen discovered shocking waste, inefficiency, and fenagling in his department. Michael Viola, suspended inspector in the department, has been indicted on 141 counts in 71 true bills charging him with taking \$15,000 in two years from a revolving fund that seems to have evaporated. The Committee of Fifteen has discovered that goods

bought for the city from the War Assets Administration have vanished. Grakelow has not filed a report with the Mayor in eight years. The United States Department of Justice is investigating.

The office of Fire Marshall George J. Gallagher is being investigated by Director of Public Safety James H. Malone, as the result of a flood of charges that Gallagher's inspectors have been taking fees from citizens for permits to instal oil burners or gas tanks.

The entire police force has been shaken up; in the process 8 inspectors, 35 captains, and 245 sergeants have been shifted for the sake of "efficiency." This action followed charges of shake-downs and protection of vice and gambling.

Under the pressure of public opinion the City Council has voted \$100,000 for an outside audit of the books of various city departments. This audit was ordered over the strenuous objections of both Grakelow and Marshall.

At the height of the public demand for their scalps, Grakelow and Marshall engaged the brilliant criminal lawyer, William A. Gray, to defend their interests. Gray asked Judge Raymond MacNeille, of the Court of Common Pleas, for a grand-jury investigation, and MacNeille granted it. The grand jury has already indicted Viola. It is being aided by two deputies from the office of State Attorney General T. McKeen Chidsey and by the state police.

Laurence H. Eldredge, a prominent lawyer, as a special deputy attorney general is investigating the conduct in office of John J. O'Malley, former chief magistrate, particularly his disposition of the cases of numbers bankers. Eldredge also is using state and not county police as investigators.

THE cumulative revelations and charges, the snarling of the Republican moguls at each other, the demands by the *Inquirer* (morning) and *Bulletin* (evening) that heads must roll, and the clamor of the citizenry that something be done to clean up the mess have brought in the State Joint Legislative Commission for still another investigation. The commission, a continuing body created by the legislature, has the power not only to investigate but to recommend state legislation that might end the kind of rule that has kept Philadelphia "content and corrupted" for more than half a century. What aroused citizens want is home rule, a merger of the city and county governments, and a new city charter—all hitherto blocked in the legislature by the "Band of Brothers," as the Philadelphia G. O. P. machine is known.

IRVING K. FAGAN has been a newspaperman in Philadelphia since 1925.

The plot of this scandalous "Philadelphia Story" is further complicated by an inter-party fight for power. Richardson Dilworth, a Democratic lawyer, waged a slam-bang campaign for the mayoralty last November against the incumbent, Barney Samuel. Competent observers charge he lost by lots less than the official figure of 100,000 votes (an entire division election board has just been convicted of election frauds). Dilworth's special target was O'Malley, who had been chief magistrate for a decade. After the election Governor James H. Duff passed over O'Malley and named a new chief magistrate. The Committee of Seventy, a civic watch-dog group, then went to Judge Joseph Sloane of Common Pleas and asked for an investigation of Dilworth's charges against O'Malley. Judge Sloane told District Attorney John H. Maurer to investigate. When nothing seemed to be happening, the Committee of Seventy went back to Sloane, and he appealed to the Attorney General. The latter named Earl G. Harrison, dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, as a special deputy. Harrison turned up enough to recommend a full-scale investigation, and the Attorney General then asked El dredge to conduct it.

When Judge MacNeille ordered the grand-jury probe of city departments, Dilworth objected because it was put in the hands of the same district attorney's office that had done nothing about investigating Magistrate O'Malley, and demanded that the state take over. Called on to back up his charges, he was first declared by the grand jury to have failed. An hour later, however, the jury foreman handed Judge MacNeille a letter signed by every member of the panel asking the state to step in. And now, as I said, the State Joint Legislative Commission, headed by Senator Weldon B. Heyburn of Delaware County, has also stepped in. Republicans are investigating Republicans.

The Committee of Fifteen, composed of five members of the City Council and ten other citizens, came into existence to try to find funds with which to raise the pay of policemen, firemen, and other city workers. The Republicans promised them the raise during last fall's campaign, but after the election a budget was adopted that increased salaries only for the mayor and councilmen; after this was done, it was announced, all available funds were exhausted. The policemen and firemen raised such a howl that it seemed more money must be found. Much of the dirt mentioned above was uncovered in the search. The committee was supposed to end its work March 1, but at that time it reported that it had made but a bare beginning. Efforts to choke it off have failed. Too much has come to light, and the public is too aroused. The committee's life has now been extended to December 31. It has just asked the council for \$50,000 with which really to dig into the mess. And the council is going to have to vote the money.

PHILADELPHIA'S plight is the result not only of long-continued, unchallenged one-party rule but of its archaic form of government. The city and county cover exactly the same area, but there is a city government and a county government. The county offices are the haven for all the drones, some of whom come around only on pay day. The city has no control over the jobs, the working hours, or the pay scales of the county government. There is no budget bureau, no director of the budget. The result is that budget-making is a farce. Popular demand for a city-county merger and the economies it would bring—estimated at from \$5,000,000 to \$20,000,000 a year—came to a head in 1939, but a bill to authorize a referendum on the question was killed in committee.

The Board of Revision of Taxes, which sets the assessed valuations on which realty taxes are based, is a county office. (Philadelphia's tax rate has been \$1.70 per \$100 for thirteen years. The school tax has been \$1.175 per \$100 for nine years. Expenses have soared, but the good old wage tax takes care of that; so why raise the realty tax? Of the nation's big cities, seven have higher realty taxes and ten spend more per pupil than Philadelphia.) The School Board is appointed by the judges of the Court of Common Pleas and has taxing powers. The Board of City Trusts, which administers \$108,000,000 in sixty-four trusts, is also appointed by the judges. So is the Fairmount Park Commission, which has its own police force. And with appointive power goes enormous patronage power.

In 1939 the city debt was \$535,000,000, with debt service taking fifty cents of every tax dollar. By pledging the income of the city-owned gas works for fourteen years the city got a loan of \$41,000,000, which enabled it to meet its budget. To get new revenue, the wage tax was passed. This "temporary" measure, to last only until the city got on its feet, has produced \$180,446,326.38 since 1940 and now accounts for 25 per cent of the city's revenue.

The borrowed money, over the years, has gone into construction which has enriched Philadelphia's contractor politicians—a stadium used once a year for the army-navy game; Convention Hall, built in a bottle-neck street two miles from the hotel district; an art museum that is still unfinished; two subways never finished, never used, and now boarded up. No money was left for needed city services; so the city lacks paving, a modern water system, an adequate sewage system, playgrounds, hospitals, low-cost housing.

What is wrong in Philadelphia? Richardson Dilworth puts it this way: "Practices which no political machine would dare to resort to if it had effective opposition have here gradually come into being. What is more, conditions created by these practices have now been with us so long that we have come to accept them as the natural way of life under a municipal political machine."

Memoirs of Eduard Benes

III. ROOSEVELT'S PRE-WAR VIEWS

ON MAY 28, 1939, I had a long talk with President Roosevelt at Hyde Park. I was accompanied by my American secretary, Edward B. Hitchcock, former European correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*. It was for me one of the most interesting experiences of the whole post-Munich period. I had met Mr. Roosevelt in 1919 when he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy and I arranged with him for the use of American ships to bring home our Siberian soldiers. At that time I found him a highly educated and keen politician, extraordinarily well informed. He was quite well acquainted with the Soviet Union, knew its principal problems, and understood that it must be integrated into world politics immediately and unconditionally.

At Hyde Park he received me cordially and said that for him Munich did not exist and I was still President. He was very critical of Daladier's France and Chamberlain's England, especially their opportunistic and undemocratic attitude toward Czechoslovakia. I saw at once that I could speak openly and with full confidence. We talked first about Munich, and he said emphatically that we had done well in not allowing ourselves to be provoked into war with Hitler in 1938. Western Europe did not want to go to our aid, and America could not have done so. If the Soviet Union had intervened alone, it was not certain how the affair would have ended. Neither Western Europe nor America was prepared for war, either morally or materially, and Hitler might have been able to reach his ultimate goal more easily and quickly.

Exactly the same view was expressed to me soon afterward, when I returned to England, by the Labor Party leaders Arthur Greenwood and Arthur Henderson, Jr. They believed the situation in 1938 was such that if a war had broken out, the Soviet Union might have faced all Europe alone.

Then we came to the most dramatic part of our talk. Roosevelt said, "Tell me sincerely how you regard the political situation in Europe and how you believe events will develop in future?"

I replied, "We must expect war in Europe this year. I believe it will come any day after July 15. Hitler is pre-

paring for war, and he desires it. He will certainly provoke it."

Roosevelt said, "My military experts expect it somewhat later, after the harvest. But how do you think Hitler will begin the war?"

"Undoubtedly by an attack on Poland."

"How will it go?"

"The war with Poland will be very rapid. It will be a Blitzkrieg in the true sense of the word. The Germans will be in Warsaw in two weeks, and the whole Polish campaign will not last longer than six weeks."

The President expressed surprise. He wondered that I was so pessimistic about Poland. I explained that I knew Hitler's preparations and also the complete irresponsibility and empty arrogance of the Polish dictatorship. As early as the Munich crisis I had known this well.

"And how do you see the further march of events?" he asked.

"England and France will go to war. But that will not prevent the fall of Poland. Then Belgium and Holland, and apparently also Switzerland, will be drawn into the conflict. At least such is the information I have received from Europe."

"And then?" the President asked.

"We must expect that all the small Central European states as far as the Greek border will fall. Hitler will then find himself face to face with the Soviet Union. His principal aim is to seize the Ukraine and to drive the Soviet Union to the eastward as far as possible. I am fully confident that England will oppose this; what France will do I could not say."

"In your opinion, what will the Soviet Union do?"

"It will eventually go to war."

"On which side?"

"On our side of course. War between Russia and Germany, sooner or later, is certain. It is the inevitable result of the two ideologies, Nazi and Communist, of Hitler's conception of German national interests, of his plans, and of the character of the people who rule Germany."

The President agreed and then asked me more about the Soviet Union: whether it was able to fight, whether its army and officers' corps were capable—he said he had many conflicting reports—whether Soviet war industry and communications were in good shape, and whether the country was sufficiently advanced technically. I told him of what I had seen myself in the Soviet Union in 1935 and what our military men had reported. I expressed

The fourth instalment of this abridgment of the Memoirs of President Benes will take up the Soviet Union's pre-war policy, the Soviet-German pact, and the events leading to the German invasion of Russia. It will appear next week.

On the evening of January 11, 1938, Mr. Sumner Welles, the American Under Secretary of State, called upon the British Ambassador in Washington. He was the bearer of a secret and confidential message from President Roosevelt to Mr. Chamberlain. The President was deeply anxious at the deterioration of the international situation, and proposed to take the initiative by inviting the representatives of certain governments to Washington to discuss the underlying causes of present differences. . . . Mr. Roosevelt was indeed running great risks in his own domestic policies by deliberately involving the United States in the darkening European scene. All the forces of isolationism would have been aroused if any part of these interchanges had transpired. On the other hand no event could have been more likely to stave off, or even prevent, war than the arrival of the United States in the circle of European hates and fears.—WINSTON CHURCHILL'S "MEMOIRS"

the opinion that it would be a long and terrible war. Roosevelt made a number of comments, based partly on information from his own experts, partly on the conversations he had had with Foreign Commissar Litvinov and other Soviet leaders.

In the end we came to the most delicate question: What would the United States do? The President asked what I thought and I replied frankly: "I think the United States will be obliged to enter the war, too. Europe cannot win the war against Germany by itself. And if America does not fight against Nazism, Nazism will fight against America. We must not forget that in Hitler and his companions we have real lunatics, devoid of sense or conscience. The disintegration of the Western democracies has already progressed so far that without America's help Western Europe cannot defend itself against Germany."

"How do you envisage this American aid?" Roosevelt asked.

"Europe will certainly require great financial assistance from you. Then it will need your industry, deliveries of arms and munitions, food, and of course your fleet. Without these it cannot survive. I cannot say whether it will also be necessary for you to send an army. I hope that you may never have to."

I told the President that as soon as war broke out I intended to organize our refugees and émigrés, and at the proper moment to form an army and a provisional government and repeat in a new form what we did under Masaryk's leadership during the First World War. When it came to the question of recognizing this revolutionary government, I added, I would turn to the President himself for help.

The President expressed the hope that our affairs would be carried out successfully and said in conclusion,

"We have helped you once, and we will help you again. Keep in contact with me and inform me about how things are progressing."

Our talk convinced me that Roosevelt understood correctly the coming war crisis in Europe, that he was aware of the task which would fall to the United States, and that he grasped the problem of the Soviet Union. From what he told me of his conversations with Litvinov I concluded that he was also conscious of the general social crisis a new war would usher in and that he realized why the Western democracies were so afraid to go to war against Hitler in company with the Soviet Union. In the end I felt sure that he would help us as much as possible.

For me this was a decisive conversation. It contributed to all my subsequent ideas about the Second World War. I ended the discussion with these three concrete questions: (1) Might I assume that the United States believed in the possible resurrection of an independent Czechoslovakia and intended to accommodate its subsequent policy to this belief? (2) With a new European war inevitable in the near future, would the United States still refuse to recognize the German occupation of our state and maintain its friendly policy toward Czechoslovakia? (3) Could we expect eventual recognition of a Czechoslovak government in exile and support for the Czechoslovak liberation movement?

The President immediately gave an affirmative reply to the first two questions. The answer to the third, he declared, would depend on circumstances and on the events of the actual war. He added, "We certainly will not do less for you in this war than we did in the last."

ON JULY 12, 1939, I left the United States, fearful that I might not arrive in Europe before Hitler's attack on Poland. On September 3, a few hours after England and France had declared war, I sent telegrams to the prime ministers of Great Britain, the British dominions, France, and Poland, which simply said that Czechoslovakia was in a state of war with Germany as of March 15, 1939.

On September 19, after my old friend R. Bruce Lockhart had been assigned to me as a permanent liaison officer with the Foreign Office, I began political negotiations with Lord Halifax, the British Foreign Minister. I received a typically British welcome at the Foreign Office. Lord Halifax had played an important role in the events which led to Munich and was certainly conscious of what a terrible defeat the Munich policy had suffered. Nevertheless, he had sufficient personal courage to declare to me: "We in England are well aware of the share of responsibility we bear for the fate of your homeland and for your own personal fate." I asked him to approve the creation, later on, of some Czechoslovak political body as a provisional government. Lord Halifax agreed

in principle but postponed the actual decision to a later date.

On October 6 I went to Paris. At that time Daladier had rejected the creation of a Czechoslovak government and had set himself against my personal participation in the war in any form. When I requested an interview, he refused it. Daladier and Bonnet were maintaining a reserved, indeed negative, policy toward Czechoslovakia. In fact, I ascertained beyond a shadow of doubt that they were still actually following a Munich policy. Forced to go to the aid of Poland against their will—they had obviously hoped to treat Poland as they had us the year before—they were trying to avoid everything which might worsen France's future relations with Germany, and especially with Italy and Hungary. To this end they were prepared to sacrifice Poland in some new form of Munich, and also to sacrifice Czechoslovakia a second time.

After very difficult negotiations Daladier finally permitted the creation merely of a Czechoslovak National Committee, with very limited powers. With this we had to content ourselves for the moment. After the fall of France a real government became a practical necessity, and the provisional Czechoslovak government was recognized by Great Britain on July 21, 1941.

The alliance of Britain, France, and Russia would have struck deep alarm into the heart of Germany in 1939, and no one can prove that war might not even then have been averted. The next step could have been taken with superior power on the side of the Allies. The initiative would have been regained by their diplomacy. Hitler could afford neither to embark upon the war on two fronts, which he himself had so deeply condemned, nor to sustain a check. It was a pity not to have placed him in this awkward position, which might very well have cost him his life.—WINSTON CHURCHILL'S "MEMOIRS"

The fall of France seriously demoralized many of our political émigrés and part of our army. Quarrels became extremely bitter at this time. Even more serious, I had considerable trouble with the British government. The British conditioned their recognition of the provisional government on the inclusion of all our political elements, especially of course the Slovaks. I tried with all my strength to achieve this, but it was a task almost beyond human powers. Only when the British heard with their own ears the personal hatreds and political views of some of our émigrés did they finally give us their full confidence.

Clothes Cost Too Much!

BY WINIFRED RAUSHENBUSH

CLOTHES prices have risen almost without a break since the war ended. On April 1 the American clothes dollar, compared to its pre-war value, was worth only 51 cents. Meat prices came down—before the packers' strike—as a result of consumer resistance. Why didn't clothes prices drop too? As a matter of fact they almost did. From ten to twenty million Americans had disappeared from the clothes-buying market by January 15, 1948, in the opinion of Dr. Paul Nystrom, an authority on the clothing industry. Home dressmaking has now reached an unprecedented peak. Twenty-three million women—among them one-third of our young girls—are making at least some of their clothes today. Sales of dresses made in New York decreased by \$99,000,000 in 1947.

A further slump in buying was expected after Easter, 1948, but history took over and saved the clothing industry. In April the United States moved out of a war-recovery into a defense economy. With rearmament and

E. R. P. together threatening future textile shortages, manufacturers and merchants who had expected to hold prices steady promptly marked up fall prices. The retail price of some men's suits was increased as much as 6 per cent. A brand-name textile firm has announced that after September 15 its woolen yard goods will cost 40 per cent more.

A number of factors enter into our present inflated clothes prices, among them the abnormal profits of the clothing industry, which doesn't care a fig what the public thinks as long as it keeps on buying, the economic ignorance of people who grew rich during the war, and the obstinacy of Congress in thwarting the Administration's attempts to control the inflation. The merchandise manager of a large chain store said recently, "Profits at practically all levels, from the mill to the retailer, are way above normal. Here is the statement of a well-known textile mill which shows profits totaling about 15 per cent of volume. When did they ever make such profits in pre-war days?"

Textile manufacturers are accused by International Ladies' Garment Workers' locals in Canada and the United States, and by clothes manufacturers too, of al-

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lowing prices to soar into the stratosphere. It is also suggested that they are creating artificial shortages of yard goods. In 1947 the price of cottons, woolens, and worsteds rose 17 per cent and the price of rayon 18 per cent. The textile industry retaliates by pointing to the excessive fabric wastage—a quarter of a billion yards in 1947—and the heavy costs of the long, wide, and complicated New Look fashions. The retail stores, which during the peak year of 1945 marked up clothes and yard goods an average of 65 per cent, moan because the public blames *them* for high prices.

The smartest and most enlightened people in the clothing industry urge that all three branches get together and voluntarily reduce prices slightly—but nothing happens. Incapable of disciplining itself, the industry throws the responsibility on to the shoulders of the public. Joe Rothschild, owner of a Madison, Wisconsin, department store, says: "We are in the midst of the greatest prosperity and the greatest sucker market in history. The public is compounding a felony by paying today's exorbitant prices." Mr. Rothschild's advice to consumers is: "Complain about the high price of clothes every time you go into a store" and "buy as little as possible." Retail merchants know that consumer resistance works. They remember the great buyers' strike of 1922, when without organization or direction of any kind people all over the United States simply stopped buying clothes and prices dropped in a few days.

Effective consumer resistance is prevented at present by the clothes-buying public's split personality. Millions of women are making the family's clothes, but the new rich are spending so recklessly that even business men are stunned. When three hundred copies of a single evening dress retailing at \$300 to \$350 were sold by Fox-Brownie, Mr. Fox exploded. "I am glad to know," he said, "that there are no more poor people in the United States." Actually only very low- and very high-priced clothes are selling well. Middle-class people can no longer afford medium-priced clothes. Sales of medium-priced dresses dropped almost 40 per cent in 1947; sales of expensive dresses, wholesaling above \$16.75, rose 15 per cent.

Low-income families suffer not only from high prices but from a persistent deterioration in quality. Some mail-order houses plan to list dresses at \$3.98 and \$4.98 and suits at \$39.50 in their fall catalogues. These are low-cost clothes. But the quality will be inferior to what was offered at the same price this spring. Here we have what is known as a "concealed" price rise, because the public is not supposed to notice it. But of course every clothes buyer knows that quality, except in the upper price brackets, has disappeared.

England has done much better by its working-class families. During the war it offered "utility" clothes, guaranteed to wear, of good cloth, design, fit, and

workmanship. Utility shoes cost \$5 and lasted about a year; utility dresses, woolen and long-sleeved, cost \$6 to \$8 and might last five years.

THE basic fact in the 1948 clothes picture is that there are no real textile shortages now. This was established by a recent Department of Commerce study. Since there are no shortages, and since both the textile and clothing industries have completed the shift-over from war-time conditions, there is no sound reason why clothes prices should be more inflated than those of any other consumer commodity except food. According to United States Bureau of Labor statistics, the consumer dollar in general is worth 60 cents compared to its pre-war value, whereas the food dollar is worth only 47 cents and the clothes dollar only 51 cents. Moreover, in the opinion of the most farsighted people in the industry there will be no textile shortages during 1948 and perhaps for somewhat longer unless new international complications arise. You will hear that the Munitions Board may stockpile woolens, that E. R. P. is taking one-fifth of our cotton crop, and so forth. That may all be true, but it does not necessarily add up to shortages. So if clerks try to justify prices rises with talk of scarcity, listen skeptically.

Sometime during 1949 the picture could change radically. If rearmament should go ahead full steam, 50 per cent of our textiles might be used for military purposes. Long before this happened, there would be government controls. It is rumored that income taxes will be higher again in 1949, and that if retail taxes are removed, there may be a national manufacturers' excise tax on all commodities, including clothes.

Our war-time price controls had marked defects. We let the burden of price rises and quality deterioration fall chiefly on the lowest-income families. We failed to tie price to quality, thus making price control a sorry farce. We distributed authority over clothing between two war-time agencies, the War Production Board and the Office of Price Administration. We should set up a better system if defense controls become necessary. Quality controls could rather easily be obtained by passing a law requiring that cloth, both in yard goods and ready-to-wear clothing, be precisely labeled. We already have a wool-labeling act, and bills extending the practice to other materials are frequently before Congress. An example of excellent labeling—the exact thread count and other factors affecting durability—is found on the sheets offered by some mail-order houses. The mail-order houses have also pioneered in giving the public information about the quality of workmanship in their good, better, and best clothing. With quality specified by adequate labeling, price rises could no longer be concealed.

Lew Hahn, president of the National Retail Dry

Goods Association, has advised every retailer to urge his Representative and Senator to prevent government controls if possible, and if not to give them a favorable shape. It is high time, therefore, for local and national organizations fighting inflation to get busy on the clothes front. Consumer attention should be focused on three

goals: (1) the prompt provision of low-priced clothes of decent quality for low-income families—commendable efforts toward this end are being made by the New York Joint Dress Board; (2) passage of labeling legislation; (3) the assurance that price will be tied to quality in any system of government controls.

Democracy Stirs in Turkey

BY ROBERT ROOT

Beyrouth, June

TURKEY has always borne a strong resemblance to the Balkans. Ataturk's abolition of polygamy, fezzes, Moslem veils, and Arabic script only increased it. The Bosphorus is no more formidable a barrier between Turkey and Southeastern Europe than the Mississippi is between our East and West; the Anatolian countryside is in many ways much like the lands adjoining the Danube. Turkey's geographical position with respect to the Soviet Union is also comparable to Rumania's or Bulgaria's. Such kinship makes all the more remarkable Turkey's current trend toward democracy, Western style, when the Balkans have been captured by the Eastern version.

Renovation of the dictatorship into a republic began some time before American aid under the Truman Doctrine was announced. Turkish leaders apparently started to think seriously of instituting democracy when it became clear that Hitler was going down to defeat. But less cynical reasons for shifting to popular government also existed. War-time controls brought grumbling against the regime in circles which had long been indifferent. At the same time, the government's educational efforts had greatly increased the number of people who read, and radio brought the news of the world to many others. As never before, Turks followed what was happening outside their own country. Dictatorships, it appeared, were going out of fashion.

At the end of the war courageous newspapers began to attack various scandals in the government, such as its lucrative trade in olive oil, and soon they were blasting the mismanagement and corruption of the one-party police state. The people grinned—and bought the papers. One pro-government newspaper whose popularity had been dwindling shifted to the opposition and almost tripled its circulation.

The most startling factor in the situation was the re-

ported conversion to democracy of Turkey's dictator, Ismet İnönü himself, euphemistically called "President of the Republic." Many persons in Turkey say that the transformation of this man who succeeded Ataturk as head of the People's Party is genuine. An American with several years' experience in Turkey told me that İnönü had become sincerely convinced that only by granting democratic institutions could he go beyond what Ataturk had done and make his own name shine in history.

The movement that has organized the protest against the one-party state is called the Democratic Party. Shortly after the war four deputies belonging to the People's Party demanded a reform of the totalitarian system. When the demand was rejected, they resigned from the party and decided to start an opposition. On January 7, 1946, they founded the Democratic Party. The chief of the new group, Celal Bayar, is an old hand at politics. Long a friend of Ataturk's, he was the former dictator's last Prime Minister. The other three are from the same social stratum. Merchants, landowners, lawyers, bankers, and manufacturers are found in the Democratic Party just as in the People's Party.

Frequently in Turkey one hears it said that the country now has a two-party system like that of the United States. Sometimes it is added that the two Turkish parties offer voters about the same small choice as the American parties. The easy analogy with the American system, however, should not obscure the fact that Turkey and the United States grope for the "middle way" from opposed positions. Wide nationalization was undertaken in Turkey a quarter of a century ago, and the Turkish Democrats' preoccupation with free enterprise is not the sure mark of conservatism that it is in the United States. *Etatisme*, a form of state capitalism, is a cornerstone of the Turkish constitution, and the Democratic Party accepts continued state management of railroads, ports, power, waterworks, mines, and forests.

On paper, at least, some of the Democratic Party's principles have a progressive flavor which would place it on the left in American politics. Like an echo of the "full-employment" slogan, "work for every citizen" is one of its chief goals. Providing seed and tools for farm-

ROBERT ROOT visited Turkey last spring as special correspondent in the Near East for the Christian Science Monitor.

ers, who make up 80 per cent of the population, and expanding agricultural credit are other major objectives. A statement of principles declares that "it is necessary to create cooperative societies, associations, and syndicates" for workers, farmers, and other groups. The party is "liberal" in the old sense of the word, demanding both civil liberties for the people and liberty of action for the entrepreneur. Its policy, therefore, is a cautious critique of *étatisme*. Democratic demands actually read somewhat like the Bill of Rights.

Two or three years ago Turks voiced complaints of the regime only furtively. Newspapers dared not criticize President İnönü or high government officials; they frequently suffered suspensions if they did. Teachers had to be cautious about viewing the situation "objectively." Religious publications were prohibited and religious assemblies were closely controlled. Without bringing specific charges the police could jail persons for extended periods; many persons arrested were removed to remote sections of the country. The Democrats protest against all these practices and urge democratization on Western lines.

In the Atatürk tradition, open balloting and secret counting characterize elections. The new party has fought for the opposite—secret voting and public counting. It has not yet accomplished this reform, however, and has suffered accordingly. When the ruling party, apparently frightened by the sudden popularity of the opposition, moved the 1946 elections ahead, the Democrats hastily organized for the test and won 64 of 468 Assembly seats, which under the circumstances was an excellent showing.

WITH the reactionary Recep Peker installed as Prime Minister, it looked as if the new democratic idealism might be submerged. But an attempt to return to the old totalitarianism in 1946-47 failed, and the Democrats now probably have enough popular support to make that impossible. When he took office, Premier Peker tried to screw down again the loosened press controls, but the journalists persisted in their boldness, and the government had to give in. Abandoning its old prerogative of suspending a paper without explanation, the government approved a regulation that charges had to be brought formally in the courts. However, as a young newspaperman at Ankara said with a grin, "It's easy to think up lots of grounds for suits to close newspapers." In addition, martial law, under which army officers can suspend newspapers, is still in force in a large area in and around Istanbul, where the most important papers are published. If cautious editors practice therefore a good deal of restraint, cynicism is not justified. Many a Westerner would be surprised at the virulence of the criticism which pours regularly from Turkey's presses.

As a corollary of the new freedom of the press, free-

dom of speech is everywhere in evidence, and there is greater liberty of discussion in the classroom. The nature of the opposition is indicated by the recent effort to discharge five liberal professors at the University of Ankara for communism—a charge without foundation. The new freedom is nowhere more marked than in the field of religion. Religious journals have been banned for years, but fifteen were allowed to appear in 1947. The government has also decided to approve private religious classes.

The very existence of the opposition party is a continual reminder of the change. Another sign of the new times is the development of a democratic wing within the People's Party. A thirty-five-year-old People's Party deputy, Nihat Erim, a former professor of law who had served prominently in the foreign service, became convinced last summer that the Democrats would overwhelm his party unless it reformed itself. Under his leadership, thirty-five of his colleagues joined the opposition to the Peker government and thus brought about its downfall. Meanwhile, a right-wing group around Peker was plotting to establish a dictatorship. İnönü, however, stood firm, and Peker resigned.

This was unquestionably the closest call the new democratic movement has had. But the spirit of Turkey today is definitely on the side of the Erim liberals rather than with the Peker rightists. While friendly to Democratic Party aims, Erim says he does not expect to form a union with the Democrats; he foresees instead the development of a number of liberal political groups. This would be a step toward the multi-party democracy of Western Europe.

One disturbing aspect of Turkish political thought is the lack of international feeling. The United Nations almost never crops up in conversation, and the Turks attach little importance to it. The extreme nationalism fostered by Atatürk is still dominant. To be sure, anti-foreign feeling has been largely eliminated. An American, for example, is treated with great friendliness, in contrast to the suspicion he encounters throughout the Arab regions of the Near East. This friendliness is not based on American aid, which began to arrive in quantity only last winter. It may be influenced, however, by Turkish appreciation of America as a powerful military ally. Again and again Turks told me, "We are not afraid of Russia, for we know America will support us." Even ordinary people understand what the war equipment and the projected roads and harbors mean to Turkey's defense.

In theory, this assistance should release funds for government measures of social welfare. Actually, Turkey's fears for its independence continue to strain its economy. Already devoting about half the budget to military expenditures, the government increased military appropriations again in the 1948 budget—the largest of the repub-

lican regime. The deficit, to be covered by internal loans, will amount to some \$50,000,000. The \$100,000,000 of American aid, in fact, is considerably less than the sum spent annually on the Turkish army and is ten times that allotted to public works. So Turks emphasize that the aid is important to them chiefly as a symbol of American backing. It has had virtually no effect on domestic affairs. Some Turks credit a slight improvement in their economic situation to American funds, but this is not confirmed by American representatives on the spot.

Politically, the Americans have been content to let Turkey follow its current evolution without interference. This means that the country's economic health is still in the hands of local doctors. Everywhere I heard complaints about low income and high costs. Prices of some foodstuffs—potatoes, for example—went up 70 per cent in 1947. At Tarsus peasants pointed out bitterly that cloth cost five times as much as before the war. A keen young Turk who had just made an extensive study of the eastern provinces said he had encountered restive-

ness everywhere and was amazed that the politicians of both parties were so blind to it.

The natural result of this situation, curiously, will not be a growth of communism in Turkey. The Soviet Union's chance of winning fifth-column converts in the near future is nil, for hatred of everything connected with Russia is so strong among all classes of Turks that even progressives have to beware—witness the five professors. In Turkey's case the Soviet Union could hardly claim that another nation on its borders had to be "stabilized." However, constructive aid, in addition to that offered under the Marshall Plan, is needed by the Turkish people, and there is widespread hope that it will be forthcoming. At least one Turkish citizen expressed a desire for cultural as well as economic aid from this country. Its past acceptance of state enterprise, combined with its recent interest in democratic freedoms and safeguards, may enable Turkey to find a new "middle way" if it is offered the right kind of friendship and support.

A Yankee Looks at the Dixie Revolt

BY JOSEPH E. FINLEY

THE political traveler touring through Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia quickly discovers that President Truman's proposals on civil rights were not the real cause of the revolt of the Southern Democrats. Ordinary citizens, he learns from talking with them, are apathetic about the question. "Ain't heard much about it around here," was the comment made in town after town along the highways of the deep South. "Only the caterwauling of the politicians," said a man in South Carolina. "Folks are pretty quiet about it; they just don't seem to care," said a woman in Alabama.

At the same time it would be a mistake to believe that the Southern people will not follow their leaders. They are aware that the rebellion is for the politicians' own purposes, but they will go along. They are caught in much the same position as the old Westerner who was asked why he joined in the town poker game when he knew it was dishonest. "I know it's crooked," he said, "but it's the only game in town."

In private conversations political leaders make blunt statements about their bolt. They rail at Northern inter-

ference, accuse Truman of appealing to "Northern radical votes," and then get around to saying, in a wounded tone, "The South's been the backbone of the Democratic Party. And now they're trying to do this to us."

One of Senator Harry F. Byrd's followers in machine-controlled Virginia almost perfectly expressed the real reason for the Southern revolt. In a legislative debate over the famous "anti-Truman" bill of Governor William M. Tuck, State Senator Charles Fenwick of Arlington said, "... [this] legislation provides the South with a potential weapon to use in getting back into the forefront of the Democratic Party." The South, he continued, "is nothing more than a doormat under the feet of the national Democratic Party."

In Alabama Senator John J. Sparkman, speaking in a statewide radio forum at Montgomery on March 25, outlined steps the South should take in the face of the civil-rights measures. He phrased his key proposal as follows: "We must insist that hereafter the South be considered a full partner in the Democratic Party. For years now it has not been given proper consideration in party councils, in the filling of Cabinet posts, and in high-ranking positions generally. Because of its certainty of landing in the Democratic column each election year no man from the solid South could ever be considered as a candidate for President or for Vice-President except in a few rare instances."

A single question which I put to people everywhere

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uncovered the feeling now pervading the South. "Roosevelt advocated much the same kind of civil-rights program as Truman," I said; "why was there no general revolt against him?"

"We respected Roosevelt for standing for that civil-rights stuff because we think he actually believed it. But Truman's just pulling a cheap political maneuver," said a sober South Carolinian. "Truman's an incompetent nincompoop," shouted an excited young Arkansas attorney. "Truman just ain't no good at all," said an old Mississippi cotton farmer, "but that Roosevelt was a man." "Roosevelt didn't try to cram 'em down our throats all at once," said an intelligent store-keeper. "Roosevelt was too smart to openly advocate these measures," said Herman Talmadge in Georgia.

There was much talk of voting Republican in November, particularly if Vandenberg is the G. O. P. nominee. The name "Republican" is still anathema in the South, but person after person said, "Vandenberg's not a real Republican like Taft or Dewey. He has showed he places country above politics." This bipartisan aura about the Michigan Senator would make him acceptable to many voters. A prominent educator in Alabama said flatly that Vandenberg could carry the state. Herbert Hoover's inroad into the solid South in 1928 was brought up over and over again. Many Southerners, even conservatives, took the Wallace attitude that there was no difference between Truman and a Republican. Herman Talmadge, in a serious commentary on Southern politics, subtly suggested that the Republican Party change its name. He also said he favored a real two-party system in the South, based on the division between liberals and conservatives.

PEOPLE in the South, while little disturbed by the civil-rights issue, are hungry for something better in the field of politics. They showed it by their praise of Roosevelt for his courage and beliefs and by their feeling, mistaken or not, that Vandenberg had been big enough to rise above petty partisanship.

Another worry crept into the conversation occasionally. A keen young Birmingham attorney, probing deeply into the feelings of Southern people, said to me. "They seem to be more worried about a depression than war, actually. There are so many scars left from 1931 and 1932." And despite the prosperity everywhere, the building boom—in practically every community one sees two types of new construction, churches and drive-in theaters—and the flowing money, I felt the sense of insecurity. There was also fear of Russia and of war, with mixed feelings about the way foreign affairs are being mishandled. There seemed to be little sentiment for Henry A. Wallace among the masses.

With the major flare-up of the revolt past, the kind of Dixie voter that put in power the Arnalls and

Peppers and Hills is looking for leadership. In Alabama several people expressed great disappointment that Senator Lister Hill had bowed to the politicians in sidetracking Truman and failed to take a positive stand on civil rights. A school teacher said, "Why, he'd get a lot of support in this state if he'd say we ought to really try to improve conditions for the Negroes." Except for Aubrey Williams in Alabama and some anti-Byrd voices in Virginia, no prominent Southerner has admitted the weaknesses of the South's position and insisted that its treatment of the Negro must be changed. The race bigots are winning by default.

A progressive Alabaman said, "Liberal sentiment in the South is untapped, unconscious, and incoherent." Another felt that beneath the lethargy there was ground for hope. Encouraging signs can be found. In Memphis, Tennessee, a C. I. O.-P. A. C. leader, preparing for an all-out fight for Boss Ed Crump, talked about segregation as casually as a Chicago social worker. "It's not too much of a problem for us any more," he said. "The other night we had a P. A. C. meeting, and whites and blacks were all over the place, not even bothering to pick out separate sides of the hall."

Another phenomenon that people want to talk about—and not only in Alabama—is Big Jim Folsom. A young Arkansas veteran preparing his farm for cotton planting grinned and said, "You know, I'd just as soon see ol' Big Jim runnin' for President as Truman." They asked about Folsom in Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia. Almost every Alabaman is eager to discuss the Governor, from his kissing and drinking antics to his fight with the "Big Mules," the vested proprietors who rule the state.

A Birmingham man, knowing every corner of the state but still puzzled by many aspects of Folsom, told a significant story. Opponents of the Governor, attacking him in the backwoods temperance areas, asked people, "What do you think of Big Jim's drinking and carousing? You know he says the only thing better than a bottle of beer is a bottle of bourbon." And always the widows at the branch heads would mutter indulgently, "Ol' Big Jim, ain't he a mess, though?"

The progressive Alabaman who lamented the South's unawareness showed renewed spirit when he spoke of Folsom. The old Populist traditions still linger in some areas, and it is whispered that they are being revived—stirred up by Folsom, with his hill-billy band and his blasts at the Big Mules. The people are for him, despite his flamboyancy, his inconsistency, his loose handling of state matters that leaves him wide open to attack, because they feel that big Jim is one of them, is on their side.

"You know, from out of all this Folsom stuff, we might be able to learn something. Maybe we can yet stir up some liberal sentiment in the South," said the man in Alabama who had thought there was ground for hope.

Del Vayo—Preview of September

I FEEL safe in predicting that the next Assembly of the United Nations, which will be held in September, will be the most important and the liveliest since the organization was founded. In the first place, it will be held at Paris, and no city is more conscious of Europe's desperate longing to emerge from the morass in which it is sinking. A meeting in the heart of Europe will be something quite different from one at Lake Success, thousands of miles away from the masses' passionate clamor for a clear peace policy. People in this country have no idea how strongly Europeans feel on the subject. That is my first thought every time I land here after several months in close contact with the problems and the state of mind of people on the other side of the Atlantic.

Nothing offers better proof of this total lack of comprehension of Europe's sentiments than Congress's recent decision to adjourn without appropriating the money for the United Nations' new headquarters in Manhattan. The average Congressman, in a hurry to pack up his papers and rush off to Philadelphia, was not at all perturbed by the necessity of pushing the matter to one side, along with the half-dozen pressing domestic problems that remained to be dealt with in the hectic dawn of that Sunday morning. But the effect on Europe was extremely bad.

Two years ago the brief struggle over whether New York or Geneva should be the site of the United Nations was decided in favor of New York because there was a general desire to see the United States and the American people take a direct interest in the international organization. Even then many delegates, as anyone who attended the sessions at Lake Success can testify, thought it a mistake to instal the United Nations in this country and would have preferred Geneva or some other European capital. They were not actuated by the slightest tinge of anti-Americanism but by the realization that early hopes of seeing the American public take the United Nations to its heart had been disappointed. For one reason or another, perhaps because of a perfectionist spirit which reacted angrily every time the veto was employed or the vacillations of the Security Council destroyed the great expectations formed at San Francisco, the interest of the average American in the United Nations has markedly diminished. Nevertheless, the view prevailed that America should be given the preference, if only to keep the United States government interested in the successful functioning of the United Nations. Then suddenly Congress, by its adjournment, demonstrated that in the nation's highest representative body only Sol Bloom and a few other exotic internationalists were really interested in the world organization.

Whether or not the question of a loan can be settled by September, it is almost certain that the transfer of the United Nations to Europe will be proposed again. That, however, will not be the burning issue before the Assembly. The chief

problem will be how to improve relations between the great powers, especially between the United States and Russia. The advance made by Stalin in his statement to Wallace brought only the negative reaction that bilateral negotiations were excluded. But are quadrilateral negotiations—among the United States, Great Britain, France, and Russia—also ruled out, negotiations for the purpose of developing a common policy toward Germany, as I urged in my last article? That I was not asking for the moon is proved by the fact that only five days later Russia and its satellite states at the close of the Warsaw meeting announced that they would welcome an agreement with the West on Germany. So far the Western powers have shown no disposition to accept such a suggestion.

I foresee that the coming Assembly at Paris will be full of surprises, though Secretary General Trygve Lie will be less justified than others in being taken by surprise. He knows better than anyone else that there are certain problems, such as that of Palestine or of Spain, which, no matter how insistent the effort to bury them, may rise up unexpectedly to shake the Assembly; especially as the session will be held at Paris, where the sound of the firing squads executing Spanish Republicans and the reverberations of the Arab aggression are heard more clearly and have a more violent impact than on the placid meadows of Flushing. And behind all these explosive questions, and dominating them, is the anxiety of the peoples of Europe to be relieved of the threat that the first clash of the armies of World War III will take place on their soil.

In the ears of every European preoccupied with the problem of peace the long and fervent applause accorded the belligerent speech of former President Hoover at the Republican convention last Tuesday must have had an ominous ring. If, as everybody assumes—beginning with the Democrats, who are entering the campaign in the most defeatist spirit I have ever known—the Republican Party is victorious in November, the people of Europe will surely ask themselves whether the new President's term will end without open conflict with Russia. Hoover's tone of voice when he referred to "the men in the Kremlin who hold in their right hands the threat of military aggression against all civilization, while with their left hands they work to weaken civilization by boring from within" was like a clarion call to an army with banners—and atom bombs.

The governments of Europe, caught in the Russian-American pincers, have up to now chosen the easiest way: to take the money proffered by Washington and hope that a miracle of conciliation will relieve them of their worst fears. But if a victorious Republican Party undertakes the anti-Soviet crusade suggested by Herbert Hoover, not the most subtle or powerful statesmen of Europe will be able to dragoon the people into a Western coalition that can only lead to war.

BOOKS and the ARTS

THOMAS MANN AS CRITIC, OR THE STRAYED NOVELIST

BY JACQUES BARZUN

THE "JOSEPH" novels of Thomas Mann have just been reissued in one volume (Knopf, \$5) with an Introduction by the author which tells of their purport and genesis in his characteristic manner of soothingly rambling narcissism. Reading it drove me back to the "Essays of Three Decades" (Knopf, \$4), which have been out for some months but which had hitherto foiled my repeated efforts to assimilate them. It is doubtless a measure of my unfitness to judge Mann as essayist that it took so much time and jaw-clenching to push myself through these five hundred pages devoted to otherwise congenial subjects. But having succeeded, I feel bound to report, since it may be useful now and again to hear the case for the opposition stated: the church itself listens while the devil's advocate conscientiously blackens the prospective saint's reputation.

In the present case, by the way, the testimony in favor of immediate canonization is abundant and conveniently to hand: "The Stature of Thomas Mann" (New Directions, \$5) is a volume as large as one of his novels in which you may read some sixty eulogies, toasts, descriptions, and comparisons, written in the language of adoring inhalation and praise of the great spirit. The volume is not least remarkable for the fact that in this hallelujah chorus you may hear the voice of the master himself, talking about himself, at the request of the Library of Congress. And lest strangers' depositions be considered enfeebled by distance, four other members of the Mann family were asked to testify—brother Heinrich—who slips in a little *réclame* for himself—the children Erika and Klaus, then Erika and Klaus together, and finally the youngest daughter, Monika, who in appropriately fluted tones tells us what Papa is really like. One cannot help regretting that the great artist did not have as many chil-

dren as J. S. Bach, in which case the whole symposium could have been put together at home. Even so, it is, as I said, a remarkable book, which in faithfully expressing what hosts of people—many of them distinguished—now feel, should stand as a signpost to future critics and historians of our age.

IN HIS OWN ESSAYS Thomas Mann seeks to do a very laudable thing. If I do not misread him, he wishes chiefly to delineate the life of the artist—his phrase is "sufferings and greatness"—by studying its two sets of conditions, inner and outer. Coming from a practicing craftsman such studies would be doubly valuable, and we should expect that he would choose to speak of fellow-workers in the past who have affected his own development. This he does, giving us four essays on Goethe, two involving Tolstoy, two on Wagner, one each on Lessing, Schopenhauer, Freud, and Cervantes, and five more on lesser German writers.

One of these last, on Kleist's "Amphitryon," is by far the best in the book. The piece is, as Mann says, a work of love, which here he conveys almost unclouded. In all the essays, moreover, one can find suggestive insights, felicitous statements of principle, and interesting results of research and comparison. It was inspired judgment to see in Faust's double-mindedness not one but several pairs of clashing energies, including the subtle opposition of "creative inventiveness and conscious anticipation of maturity." It was honest and courageous to demonstrate at Freud's celebration of his eightieth birthday that philosophy maintains its rights, despite the psychoanalyst's lifelong dismissal of it as unscientific.

But these and a dozen other remarks—sometimes mere phrases thrown out in passing—are not a sufficient reward for the task of reading so many dense pages. The lack of formal organization

could be excused: other critics, notably Coleridge, also chose to meander. Again, Mann's laborious reiteration of platitudes and his condescension verging on tactlessness—only he could have paid homage to Freud by speaking a good deal about himself and stressing the merits of Jung—might conceivably be forgiven if at the same time we were made to feel that the critic had a real passion for these many works of mind and an unshakable grip upon the life of genius. But he stands in his own light and sees only vague reflections of himself in the waters of the past, while we watch distorted images spread across the endless circles.

Throughout, the lack of formal order is matched by a lack of intellectual order. The author absentmindedly *plays* with his categories. We hear, for instance, about nearly every figure whom he touches on that he was "German," and this "Germanness" of the artist is the theme of clumsy definitions, most of which soon run into the rocks of the same author's "universality" and "broad humanity." At the end of the volume Wagner himself is reproved for making "a reference to the national—a sentimentalizing idea anyhow."

An identical confusion enwraps Mr. Mann's other favorite term—"bourgeois." There is an essay on Goethe as Representative of the Bourgeois Age which I suspect the proud old boy would not have liked. There we discover with some astonishment that bourgeois means middling and also "aristocratic" and also "liberal" and also "philistine" and also "conscientious" and "workmanlike." No doubt the term is elusive, and no critic is bound to write as if words meant one thing only; but a critic is bound to make the changes in his own usage clear, by context or definition, for the simple purpose of informing the attentive of what he is momentarily thinking about. Mann's variations in this regard are not

simple meanderings; they are elaborate flabbiness of mind, akin to indolent caprice.

ACCORDING TO Heinrich Mann, his brother Thomas said upon exile, "Wherever I am is German culture." And we are told that he said this "simply." He might have said, still more simply, "Wherever I am is German fiction." For it is surely doing a grave injustice to German criticism—the most scholarly and *cosmopolitan* in the world—to equate it with the work of our nation-ridden essayist,* who seems to me the non-critic par excellence.

His qualities of mind, to be sure, are related to those of Goethe—as he openly proclaims in the name of "modesty—that beautiful word"; and Mann's technique of development reminds one of Wagner's, which he admires so much as to deny it the name of music. But these attachments and relations connect him only to one facet of his chosen models: he reflects and exaggerates Goethe's didactic unfolding of the obvious, and he reproduces Wagner's capacity to go on when there is nothing more to say. Both technique and substance seem better adapted to our modern mass audience than to the old masters themselves, and there may come a time when the author of the original "Joseph" story will again seem a good writer, too, in his curt way.

The concluding Voyage with Don Quixote in the form of a shipboard diary illustrates these unhappy general truths: the stretching out of detail to within a millimeter of absolute dullness, the sparse outlay of fresh ideas—usually put forward in somewhat shuffling fashion lest the genteel reader be alarmed, and to leave no doubt that the critic has read Cervantes's mind with a seer's penetration, disclosures of this kind: "Humorous, finally, in the highest sense, is the portrayal of the two principals, so human and lively is the author's perception of character in all its many-sidedness and depth."

All this is, even in bulk, inoffensive enough, and it is only hard to take it with equal blandness because so much complacent solemnity is in the long run

suffocating. This in turn may merely prove the genuine saint, while it brands the objector as belonging to the devil's party. So be it. I agree at any rate with Mr. Mann's profession of faith in criticism—"Why should poets be praised and sung, unless to the advantage of the poetic altogether, to the end that its peculiar value be suffered and understood?"—though here again, incorrigibly, I sense a pose and a forwardness in the phrasing which is no fault of the admirable translation. It must be that I deprecate seeing the critic in his "poetic altogether."

Enterprise, New Style

MANAGERIAL ENTERPRISE. By Oswald Knauth. W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.

MR. KNAUTH is an unusual combination—a professional economist with a keen scientific conscience and a successful big-business executive with long experience. He brings to the discussion of our economic order, not a statement of what business would be like if the abstract deductions of the theoretical economist were relevant, but an intimate sense of what it is really like.

The vociferous debate about competitive private enterprise, pro and con, he maintains, is largely beside the point. Only about 25 per cent of our current output is in the hands of those whose status and behavior come anywhere near fitting the description of the classicists. Another 25 per cent is collective—governmental or cooperative. The remaining 50 per cent is a new and different sort of thing altogether. The traditional point of view, which admits the existence of big corporate business and a high degree of concentration, regards it as monopolistic or quasi-monopolistic. There is an ardent school of theorists which wants to break it up and force it to compete, on the theory that the economy would be self-regulating if it were only composed of small, helpless units of the kind which the classicists assumed as a basis of their deductions. Maybe so. But to call this sector monopoly, Mr. Knauth maintains, is as far from understanding it as to assume, as many of its professional defenders do, that it is competitive. It is not capable of analysis on the theory of competitive

price or the theory of monopolistic price or anything in between. It has more significant dimensions than the plane on which these two poles of routine theory lie.

The author prefers to call this sector of business managerial enterprise, for it is not even, in the strict sense of the word, private. There are those who are legally termed owners, to be sure, but as many have previously remarked, they have been deprived of most of the perquisites of the old-fashioned enterpriser. Management really runs the show. Legally, managers are appointed by directors who represent the stockholders; actually directors are often chosen by managers, and some of them today are even employed by their corporations.

Now, the manager of a big concern usually has a lot of room to turn around in. He can apply his concept of good industrial policy, whatever it may be, without much danger of wrecking his company, at least for quite a while. Of course he is concerned with showing a profit on the books, but profit has become pretty much of an abstraction. It can be higher or lower in any given year according to the kind of accounting applied. It is not usually the mere consequence of seeking the utmost yield of volume multiplied by price of any given article, either in a competitive market or in a monopolized one. It is the result of a whole series of policy decisions about many things. The manager is concerned, not merely with costs of materials and selling prices, but with the growth and stability of the enterprise, with good-will, with policies of investment, inventory management, the morale of employees, the efficient organization of operations, the vagaries of public taste, the demands and pressures of government, the best means of financing. Inter-industry relations are important to him. If decisions about the dozens of problems which daily come to him are sensibly made, profit will emerge almost automatically.

All this is, to Mr. Knauth, by way of description, not justification. Managers may and often do make wrong decisions. Big business, in spite of its record of increased productiveness over the years, does not always serve the public good. His conclusion is merely that if we are to know how to deal with it, we

* An examination of Mann's political utterances would take us too far, but the persistence of his provincial ideas—which had already shocked Romain Rolland in 1914—is borne out by more than one kind of evidence from his own hand.

must recognize it for what it is, not imagine it is something else. The job is one of making social use of its high capacities for coordination, of setting standards and public goals, of inventing controls that will be effective. To assume either that we have a regime of competitive private enterprise in which everything works together for good, or that we ought to have it and can get it by passing and enforcing anti-trust laws, is to live in a dream world.

GEORGE SOULE

Failures of the Life of Man

THE SHIP AND THE FLAME. By Jerre Mangione. A. A. Wyn. \$3.

THE OUTER EDGES. By Charles Jackson. Rinehart and Company. \$2.75.

ALTHOUGH they evoke neither majesty nor terror, Mr. Mangione and Mr. Jackson write about what Katherine Anne Porter once spoke of as "this majestic and terrible failure of the life of man in the Western world."

"The Ship and the Flame" focuses on a half-dozen refugees, some political, some Jewish, who along with five hundred companions are unable to land at Vera Cruz in the early years of the war because the passports they have obtained in Lisbon are fraudulent. After numerous tensions and counter-tensions there is a too happy ending when a kind State Department grants them entrance at Norfolk. The plot, like that of Mr. Jackson's novel, is straight "Grand Hotel" (the entire action takes place on the boat), although one suspects that Mr. Mangione was more consciously influenced by the early novels of Aldous Huxley with their mixture of determinedly intellectual conversation and sex, just as in "The Outer Edges" there are the faintest reminiscences of "Mrs. Dalloway." The familiar obstacle to writing about collective experience in the novel is that, unless the author is Tolstoy or Virginia Woolf, the characters become one-dimensional, for there are too many of them and they all have to be made to talk about their feelings and ideas, have even, on occasion, to be shown in action. "The Ship and the Flame" fails to surmount the obstacle. Its characters are types: the professor forced by fascism into somewhat ineffectual action; his wife, who finds prayer

a solution to all problems; the woman the professor nearly has an affair with, seductive but full of common sense, who plays a *boule de suif* role; a writer who commits suicide out of weariness, and so on. There is no evident intention to go beyond surface reporting. They talk endlessly. We learn much about their ideas and almost as much about their sexual behavior, but nothing else. Politically "The Ship and the Flame" is ambiguous. It is clear that Mr. Mangione is anti-fascist; beyond this it is difficult to penetrate. Not that the novel is ordinarily a place in which to look for formulation of political faith; but this book is so laden with discourse that one expects some statement of conviction.

Having explored the problem of the alcoholic in "The Lost Weekend" and of one kind of male homosexual in "The Fall of Valor," Mr. Jackson has concentrated in "The Outer Edges" on the repercussions on numerous individuals—largely residing in Westchester or Gramercy Park—of the mutilation, rape, and murder of two small girls by a sixteen-year-old moron. Whether this is, in the Jamesian sense, a satisfactory *donnée* for fiction need not be argued here. I find myself speculating on the subject of Mr. Jackson's next novel. He is really concerned, as Mr. Mangione is not, to show as well as to talk about the troubles that bedevil his characters. He sees that his people lead empty lives: there is, for instance, something horrifyingly mechanical in their adulteries, and this is the effect he intended. The subject of the novel is not the moron but the awakening conscience of a successful advertising man, handsome, boyish, emotionally irresponsible, upon whom the murders react so violently that he breaks with his mistress and at the end of the book is on his way to Princeton to retrieve his wife and child. Before this last move, however, driven by a sense of sharing in a universal guilt (he had run over a dog on the highway and, in addition to not stopping to comfort the child who owned it, had lied to his wife and daughter about it), he offers money to the bereaved father, who refuses it, saying: "When a thing like this happens, it's pretty bad, but you just don't stop living or give up, and you don't keep talking about it." There is no question of the seriousness of intention here, but there is something frivolous in these

semi-religious, semi-moral formulations.

On the surface this is, like Mr. Jackson's other novels, a very slick job. It is readable; it has external form in the sense that the numerous threads of the plot are neatly interwoven and tied up at the end—of organic form there is no trace. The theme of the awakening conscience is an important one. When the conscience is that of a permanent adolescent its importance wanes. Mr. Jackson is the victim of his own real talent for depicting surfaces. One says to oneself again and again: yes, that is how a highway in upper New York State looks on a September morning, or that is the way that sort of man or woman would look. Unhappily one can also predict how that sort of man or woman will act, and that is just the way he makes them act. Years ago Mr. Jackson wrote a short story, "That Summer." It was not deft. It did explore an emotion and a situation with great care; it was no mere mixture of "theme" and the tabloids. I wish he would write another short story.

ERNEST JONÈS

The Critic As Stuffed Head

THE ARMED VISION. By Stanley Edgar Hyman. Alfred A. Knopf. \$5.

HERE is a classic instance of a writer betrayed by his own energy. Mr. Hyman has undertaken a task that might more properly crown a career than open it: an evaluation of modern literary criticism. In twelve essays he describes the methods and grades the status of our leading critics, and traces their indebtedness to critics of the past as well as their influence on contemporaries. We reach here a perilous abstraction from the original creative act, for Mr. Hyman, afflicted with an unseemly affection for the catalogue, is never happier than when arguing against a critic's dissent from another critic's opinion. En route, the work of art is usually lost.

Mr. Hyman is at his best when discussing critics least in current fashion. When writing about Constance Rourke's folk criticism or Caroline Spurgeon's scholarship he behaves like a boy let out of school. Freed of surveillance, real or fancied, he writes objectively, informatively, and hence usefully. But when he gets to the critics he admires most—R. P. Blackmur, I. A. Richards,

Kenneth Burke—he seems like the brightest boy in the class who not only walks off with all the prizes but has even memorized the footnotes.

Even as adulatory summaries the chapters on Blackmur and Burke, which I take to be crucial to his book, are not very satisfactory. Of Blackmur Mr. Hyman can make little more than that he is a hard worker and reads texts closely—which is hardly news. He seldom notices and never explains the more interesting problems in Blackmur's work: the peculiar, multiple tensions that gnarl his vision and his prose; the sense of a man tragically out of joint with his time and desperately struggling with his awareness of that fact; his fascinating romance with Henry Adams, which, I suspect, is the key to his whole outlook; his long struggle to discover the relationship, if any, between morality and technique, subject matter and sensibility; and the shift in emphasis and style from his early work to his recent essays.

Similarly, Mr. Hyman is not very illuminating on Burke. He fails to demonstrate what should be crucial for anyone determined to praise Burke's notion of literature as symbolic action: that it makes possible judgments superior to those of critics who use other methods or who do not think of themselves as consciously using any. Mr. Hyman is too overwhelmed by Burke's terminological apparatus to be able to test it carefully with regard to ultimate acts of judgment. When he does offer some examples of the results of Burke's method, it is difficult to avoid embarrassment. Who can believe that the leading critic of the day is a man who "disparages the Kafka and Kierkegaard fads because they represent 'the stage of masturbatory adolescence,'" or who notes that "Hume's questioning of 'ancestry' in attacking causality and Bentham's 'neutral' or 'sterilized' vocabulary are significantly bachelors' theories," or that "pragmatism . . . and similar philosophies point to a fixation on the mother"? I consider it curious that in a long section tracing influences on Burke, from Coleridge to Veblen, Mr. Hyman remains mute on a central institutional influence on Burke's earlier thought—Stalinism. Is such a lapse accidental?

Mr. Hyman is an enthusiastic defender of what might roughly be called "the new criticism." There can be no

doubt that the critics who have based themselves on Eliot have made a special contribution to the exegesis of modern poetry. But Mr. Hyman never attempts what would seem so necessary for his sort of book—a total, if tentative, estimate of the "new criticism." Such an estimate would at least have to take into account the following factors, none of which Mr. Hyman notices: why so many of its practitioners have settled in the academy; why many, like Eliot, have shifted from "technical" to "moral" criticism; why they have been so limited in choice of poetic subjects, so unable to cope with heroic or romantic poets, and so helpless before the novel; why they frequently replace judgment with exegesis; and why they seem to produce, no doubt involuntarily, the sort of machine-made, overweighted essay that might just as well have been written by six other people, so depersonalized is it. In a word, Mr. Hyman has failed in a central critical function—to place these critics in a context that might permit us to understand and thereby to evaluate their work. He has no pressing notion of the world in which we live, and that, I think, is the root of his failure.

Mr. Hyman himself writes a peculiarly depersonalized criticism, and seems satisfied with serving as a compendium of what is considered good taste in the quarterlies. He permits himself no eccentricities, those fingerprints of personality. Propriety is the mark of acquiescent taste or, what is as bad, dull taste. How else explain his weird over-praise of such critics as Cleanth Brooks and Harry Slochower; his failure, in this tremendous volume, to offer one fresh insight on a creative writer; his overestimation of Christopher Caudwell, the British "Marxist" critic, who seems to me to deepen the error of those "Marxist" critics who correlate social situation and a poem's subject matter by frequently correlating social situation and a poem's form. Taking Mr. Hyman's advice that a critic should do homework, I have returned to one of his essays to find therein a prediction that a "leading contender" for writing the "War and Peace" of World War II would be Mikhail Sholokhov.

Most objectionable, however, is his attitude to ideas. For him the critic is one who "uses" a bewildering number of conclusions of modern thought with-

out particular regard for their validity. His chapter on psychological criticism implies, when it says anything at all, a pastiche of virtually all psychological theories. His chapter on Marxian criticism makes no evaluative distinction be-

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tween Stalinist and non-Stalinist critics—as if it were, like Molotov's late view of fascism, simply a matter of taste. Usually Mr. Hyman deals not with the materials of the systems on which he wants the critic to rely—many of them, by the way, quite irrelevant to an evaluation of art—but rather with their abstracted conclusions. The result is a synthesis of tag lines that would permit his "ideal critic" to verbalize about literature without holding any opinions or adhering to any standards of taste. It seems never to occur to Mr. Hyman that "synthesis" is the current academic special, a means of displacing precise opinion, necessary disagreements, and developed personality by a foggy blend of ill-matched abstractions. Mr. Hyman's mind is clogged with immense amounts of information, but that they have done him much good I seriously doubt.

All that I have said may be wrong or myopic, but I am sure of one thing, that his chapter on Edmund Wilson is one of the least tasteful bits of venom that has appeared in a long time. Wilson is certainly open to serious criticism, but not to the scurrilous attack in which Mr. Hyman, with a ferocity usually associated with scorned love, indulges. A man who could write that "in 1946, 'Memoirs of Hecate County' itself appeared and, after selling fifty thousand copies in about four months, was declared 'obscene' by the Court of Special Sessions and banned from further sale (both greater triumphs than Mary McCarthy's 'The Company She Keeps' has achieved)" could hardly be said to have a large mind.

IRVING HOWE

A Son of Imagination

PAUL ROSENFELD, VOYAGER IN THE ARTS. Edited by Jerome Mellquist and Lucie Wiese. Creative Age Press. \$3.50.

PAUL ROSENFELD, from this evidence, seems to have been endowed with two rare gifts, either unusual enough: a love for the arts, and for artists; and an ability to use the second singular pronoun, not as if he meant it, but meaning it really. Such a man, naturally and consequently, would have many friends; here some fifty of them, an illustrious roster of editors, critics, novelists, dramatists, painters, poets, composers, offer his memory their testimony

of homage. Their praise reflects much more than the satisfaction of their own egos gratified; their subject's warmth and generosity and love, which went out to them at one time, has gone into them, too, and the unusual combination has drawn out the unusual response—delight in, admiration for, recognition of, decency and goodness.

"Sometimes," Mr. Mumford quotes Paul Rosenfeld as writing in 1943, "one feels the possibility of a love of life which asks no reward other than the power of love." Few have the ambition to aspire to such a state of grace and innocence; many would doubt that its possessor, his happiness attained, could be a creative artist. But it is evident, from the record, that Paul Rosenfeld had a share in the creation of works of art beyond his own; Miss Bogan draws the conclusion, toward which the evidence points, that the sensitive appreciator, the more than that, the encourager, is a need of any culture. Wallace Stevens confirms the diagnosis: "As a member of a group, as a familiar figure, without eccentricity, saying and writing things of understanding, he communicated *confidence and discipline, and a sense of the necessity of both* [my italics]; and in that too he was shaping, helping to give shape to, those to whom that meant becoming choate." And Malcolm Cowley, in a brief essay happily entitled *St. Martin's Cloak*, does well to note how close this life was to saintliness. Perhaps Marianne Moore, as she does so often, sums it up best: "When everything has its price, and more than price, and anyone is venal, what a thing is the interested mind with the disinterested motive. Here it is. We have had it in Paul Rosenfeld, a son of consolation, a son of imagination, the man of deeds."

The editors have made an attempt to arrange the material in sections: Mr. Mellquist contributes an introduction; then there are divisions called *The Slide of Time*, *Many Facets*, *Testimony*, *Homage*. But it is all testimony and homage, and the editors might as well have saved themselves the bother of arrangement, put it all together alphabetically, or any other way; it wouldn't matter. One section includes a series of letters from Sherwood Anderson; there is what seems to be a thorough bibliography, but no index.

To the best of my knowledge, I never set eyes on Paul Rosenfeld in my life; reading this book, I have a sense of loss.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Films

JAMES
AGEE

CINEMA 16," a film society founded in New York last fall, is not exclusively devoted to 16 mm. films. The idea is to show the best of the various kinds of documentary, pedagogical, experimental, and (sometimes) censorable movies which don't ordinarily get a showing in theaters, not even in the little theaters. Some of them do get shown around, more or less, in union halls, parish houses, schools; some others, I imagine, by societies of amateur movie-makers, or in the homes of friends, or, in a sort of extension of shop talk, among the people who made them in the first place. But in general the people who make such pictures have to work against the discouraging assumption that their work will never be seen by most of the people who might be most interested; let alone by a general audience. And, on the other end, those who might like to see such films seldom get a chance to. The only way I can imagine of getting these people and the films and their makers into any kind of healthy reciprocal acquaintance is through just this kind of subscription plan. There, I gather, the difficulties only begin: some of the distributors or owners of these movies refuse to "cooperate" at all; others make it as hard as possible rather than as easy as possible. But all this is likely to loosen up with time, and already a great deal of work, good and bad, is available.

So far as I know, Cinema 16 is the only society of its kind in the country. I only hope the idea will spread. I only wish it might spread well beyond the big key cities; for I have some idea how many interested people there are in smaller cities and small towns who never get a chance to see such films as these, or European films either. But in many communities there are probably so few of these people that they doubt they can ever develop or support any kind of subscription plan. Another difficulty is that at any distance from New York it becomes very hard to know whom to write

to for information about available films, or how to begin. Alex Vogel, of Cinema 16, tells me that he has had between twenty and thirty inquiring letters from various parts of the country; so the spread is already beginning. The society will be glad to hear from anyone who is interested. The address is Cinema 16, 59 Park Avenue, New York 16.

All that is unfortunate about movies doesn't, of course, begin and end with Hollywood and the general Hollywood audience. One of the biggest mistakes that can be made and one which appears to be made remarkably often, is to assume that uncommercial or relatively uncommercial motives guarantee a good film or a good minority audience for it. Instead, such motives guarantee special temptations and liabilities, as grave at least as those imposed by rankest commercialism. Only too many documentaries make the very word seem a synonym for dullness. Only too much of the pedagogical and social content boils down to special pleading, dishonest thinking and perception, and again dullness. Only too often the experiments were not fundamentally experimental any more when movie people first borrowed them from other arts and to some extent from science back in the 1920's. And there are inevitable drawbacks about this kind of showing which so exclusively assembles the specially interested: the danger of a kind of churchy smell to the whole business which seems to me essentially much more hostile to vigorous work and vigorous enjoyment and criticism than the good honest stench of the average movie theater—the odor, if not of sanctity, of cold, arrogant, uncritical self-righteousness in the audience; in the pictures, and in those who make them. But that can't be helped, certainly not at this stage of the game anyhow. And it isn't by any means all you get. Some of the most honest, selfless, and talented people in movies work on such pictures; some of the best that can be hoped for will come from them if from anyone; and the audience is by no means all churchy. After all, there are a good many people who honestly enjoy movies, know the difference between good work and bad, and care a great deal about the difference. They are the people I hope, and assume, who will be most interested to learn more about Cinema 16.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

RCA VICTOR has issued a new recording of Debussy's String Quartet made by the Paganini Quartet (DV-17 on vinylite, \$9, DM-1213 on shellac, \$6). Of the work I like only the second and third movements; and these are played better than the first and last, which seem to me feverishly excited rather than *décidé* or *avec passion*; but even in the quiet portions there are mannered and otherwise questionable details of phrasing. The sound from the vinylite records seems limited in treble range, and the violins get to be shrill in loud high passages.

Another set (DM-1216, \$6) makes one package of Weber's *Konzertstück* and Strauss's *Burleske* for piano and orchestra, played by Arrau with the Chicago Symphony under Defauw. One is a virtuoso display piece with episodes of grace and charm, the other a moderately enjoyable piece of early Strauss; and there is no reason why a person wanting one should have to take the other. As it happens, however, he is not likely to want either as it comes off these records. Arrau's playing in the Strauss is better than in the Weber, where the exaggerated grace and charm sound synthetically contrived and as hard and brash as the virtuoso display passages. The effect of hardness and brashness may be due partly to a piano which has no depth and body in the bass and sounds like a xylophone in the treble; but that may in turn be due to recording which makes the sound of the orchestra thin and hard with no body down below and excessive brilliance up above. Anyone who wants the Weber piece should get the beautiful Casadesu performance in the old Columbia set.

Lalo's *Symphonie espagnole* for violin and orchestra has been recorded by Menuhin with the Colonne Orchestra under Fournet (DM-1207, \$5). It is an engaging minor work; and Menuhin plays with more continuity of phrase and less coarseness of tone than he has been doing. The recorded sound of the orchestra is not up to what we have been getting from Europe.

Examples of European recording at its best are on two single discs made

by Beecham with his new Royal Philharmonic. One (12-0289, \$1.25) offers the Love Scene from Strauss's "*Feuersnot*," a bit of not very good late Strauss; the other (12-0239, \$1.25), the Dance of the Persian slaves from Musorgsky's "*Khovanshchina*," presumably as revised by Rimsky-Korsakov—engaging at first but too repetitious in the end. The performances are excellent.

Schubert's early, derivative, and pleasantly unimportant Symphony No. 5 gets a straightforward and well-recorded performance by Koussevitzky and the Boston Symphony (DM-1215, \$4.75). The first record in my review copy of the set has noisy surfaces; the others are not bad. And Koussevitzky's performance of Bach's *Brandenburg Concerto* No. 6 with a small group from his orchestra (DM-1211, \$5) does not make the work less dull than I have always found it to be.

At the concert of Stravinsky's music put on in April by the young conductor Robert Craft, Stravinsky himself conducted his "*Symphonies d'instruments à vent*" and "*Danses concertantes*," and Craft the *Capriccio* for piano and orchestra and the *Symphony in C*. I heard the "*Symphonies*" when Stokowski played it with the Philadelphia Orchestra in New York in the early 20's; and I thought it a horrid little piece. And a horrid little piece was what it still sounded like after the twenty or more years, and although I have come to enjoy the other works on the program. It was a pleasure to hear Stravinsky's own clear and strong performance of "*Danses concertantes*"; and I was impressed by the unmistakable conducting talent of young Craft—that is, his ability to get an orchestra to do what he wanted, albeit with movements of his entire body that were embarrassing to observe. Elly Kassman—who at her own concert earlier in the season had lacked the sheer physical power required by Stravinsky's *Piano Concerto*—played the less taxing piano part in the *Capriccio* very effectively.

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Letters to the Editors

A Foreign Policy Declaration

Dear Sirs: Those who are most critical of American foreign policy are often unable to suggest any practicable short-term alternative. What is needed at once is a declaration of policy that will clear the air by affirming certain basic motivations in the light of which particular acts can be tested and interpreted. Ambiguous phrases such as "the preservation of freedom" are of course worse than useless; what is necessary is a statement that will get behind the usual clichés and say something positive and useful. Statements can be important instruments of policy and cannot be dismissed as "mere words." A joint statement by the American and British governments on the following lines could rally men of good-will everywhere to a decent policy of world reconstruction.

In view of the present troubled state of the world and of the widespread confusion concerning the best means of achieving the objectives for which the Second World War was fought and won by the United Nations, the governments of the United States and the United Kingdom wish to make their position clear by enunciating the following principles, at the same time inviting any other government which so desires to associate itself with this declaration:

1. We recognize the imperative duty of cooperating in the rehabilitation of Europe and of other areas whose economy has been disrupted by the war, in the interests not only of the welfare of the inhabitants of those areas but also of human progress as a whole.

2. We are fully aware that it is not sufficient to restore the economic and social structure which prevailed immediately before the war or before the rise of fascism, and recognize the necessity of positive, forward-looking action in Europe, the Far East, and elsewhere if we are to achieve a world which will combine economic security, social justice, and political freedom to the maximum degree. We therefore welcome change if it is in this direction and if it takes place without deceit or violence.

3. We are aware that the Soviet Union does not believe in the compatibility of economic security with political freedom as we understand the latter, and we realize that the official Soviet philosophy can find no room for genuine social and economic progress outside a Communist or Communist-controlled state. While appreciating the radical difference between our

own view and that of the Soviets we wish to go on record as holding most strongly that economic security and political freedom are not only compatible but bound up with each other, and we affirm that our objective is a world both free and secure, a world in which men can enjoy an abundance both of ideas and of bread.

4. We do not claim perfection for either American capitalism or British democratic socialism, but under both systems citizens are free to criticize defects and to help remedy them. Further, we believe that under both systems, whatever their defects, men can work honestly and effectively for a better world. We are ready to join hands with all those who have the same objective ultimately in view and allow differences concerning the best means we ought to pursue to be decided by the events.

5. In the meantime, to prove our own good faith, we offer to cooperate in a joint attempt to solve the pressing problems posed by civil conflict in China, Greece, and elsewhere and by the unhappy situation in Palestine, with the understanding that these problems shall be approached from the point of view of the welfare of the people involved rather than the supposed interests of "blocs" and "powers." We invite any government that accepts this position to join us in this attempt.

6. Mankind now has the technical knowledge and the material resources to implement all the social ideals which have inspired men of good-will throughout the ages—or to make war on itself with unprecedented destructiveness. The choice must be made now, and no question of ideological orthodoxies, face-saving, or national pride should be allowed to prevent us, or any other nation which shares the objectives indicated in paragraph 2, from cooperating in immediate practical measures to insure that the choice is the right one.

DAVID DAICHES

Ithaca, N. Y., June 20

Why Not Support Wallace?

Dear Sirs: I am in almost complete agreement with your criticism of the Truman Administration on domestic and international affairs, and cannot understand why you oppose Wallace for the Presidency. Your main assumption appears to be that Wallace's candidacy has produced a split in the liberal ranks and so will assure the election of a reactionary President and Congress. But could reaction have been stopped if Wallace had remained in the Democratic camp, supporting its nominee—doubtless Truman

himself? Would the voters then have any real choice between reactionary Republicans and reactionary Democrats?

Suppose the Republicans are elected, what real change will there be in either domestic or international action? On national matters they may be more honest in open avowal of conservatism, but will they be more reactionary? Internationally, could they be more disruptive of the U. N.? Is there any real choice for liberals between the two parties?

If not, what truly liberal objections are there to supporting Wallace? On domestic policy are there any? On international matters he may have more confidence than is warranted in attaining agreement with Russia, but what is wrong with honest and vigorous trying? In any case, isn't Wallace right in denouncing unilateral U. S. action against the U. S. S. R. and in demanding reliance upon the U. N. as the joint agency of all nations to stop war and to promote peace? Is there any real way to peace except through the U. N.

Wallace is said to be controlled by Communists and to be pro-Russian, but is he? I feel that he has not sufficiently criticized the unilateral maneuvers of the U. S. S. R. and that he should have definitely dissociated himself from the Communists, but is he not strictly an American liberal in his criticism of attempts to by-pass the U. N.? Is this position not the crux of international liberalism, whatever one's attitude may be toward communism and Russia?

The only significant criticism of the Wallace movement in which I concur is based on its failure to support truly liberal Democratic or Republican candidates for Congress. The reason is generally local—the special position of the candidate or his unwillingness to accept third-party nomination or support, which has nothing to do with the Wallace national campaign. In most instances the difficulties can probably be overcome before November, and major-party Congressional candidates will be supported if they are in fact liberal. And whatever third-party headquarters directs, the mass of Wallace supporters are independents and will vote for Congressional candidates on the basis of merit. Furthermore, Wallace will doubtless bring out at least 10,000,000 more votes than would be cast in a normal Presi-

July 3, 1948

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dential election. A 55,000,000-vote election will probably elect more liberals to Congress, whatever their party ties, than a 45,000,000-vote election in which the voters are disgusted with both old parties.

JOHN BAUER

New York, June 12

[Most of the questions raised by Mr. Bauer have been dealt with at length in other issues of *The Nation*. Since he emphasizes the by-passing of the United Nations, however, and makes the authority of that body the "crux of liberalism," he would seem to be more in agreement with Secretary Marshall than with Mr. Wallace on the question of settling our differences with Russia. As for independent Congressional candidates, Mr. Bauer "concurs" in our criticism but chooses to believe at one and the same time that the new party can't help putting up its own candidates, that it will reverse this policy in due time, and that, if it doesn't, its members will back Wallace against Truman while supporting Congressional candidates who back Truman against Wallace.

—EDITORS THE NATION]

Right City, Wrong Paper

Dear Sirs: Through inadvertence, you identified me with the St. Louis *Star-Times* in connection with my article on the TVA in your issue of June 12. I have been back at my old stand on the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* for some ten months now.

ERNEST KIRSCHTEN

St. Louis, June 16

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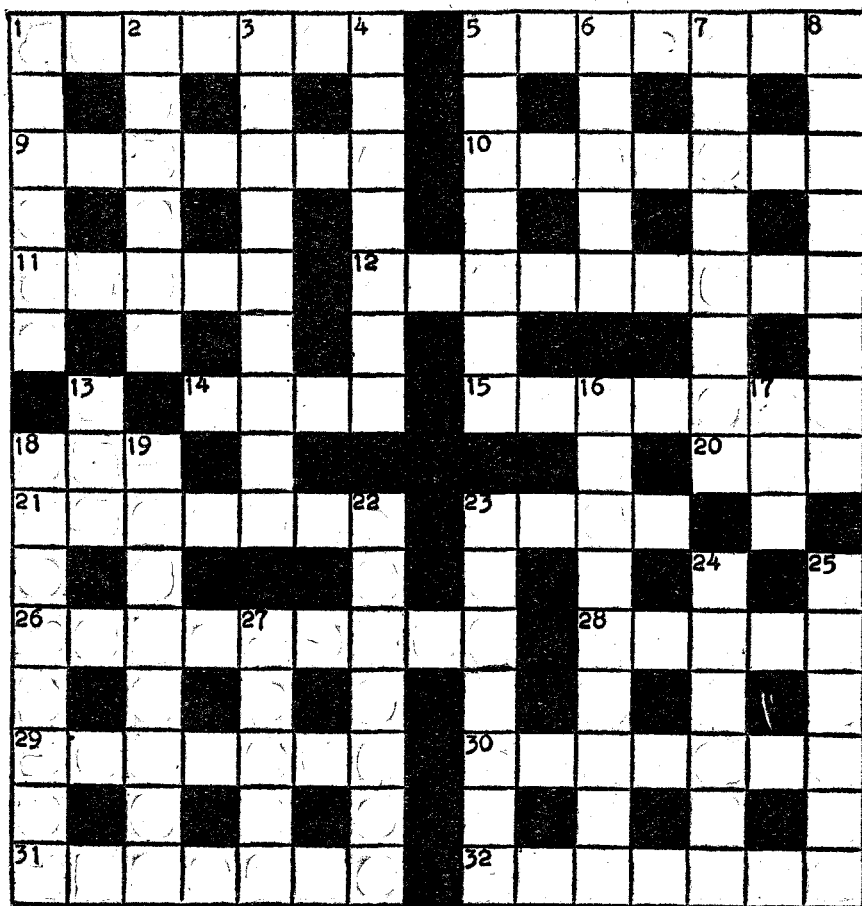
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Crossword Puzzle No. 269

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1, 24, 3, 19, 16, 17. Instructions to the ballet in *L'Allegro*? (4, 3, 4, 2, 2, 3, 2, 2, 3, 5, 9, 3)
5 How a classic author notes his coal. (7)
9 In the west they never run dry. (7)
10 How Tosti said goodbye. (7)
11 Oil up part of the French military machine. (5)
12 Is Mary all she might be -- a country girl? (9)
14 Sprung up like a flower. (4)
15 Get fed, in a way, but don't finish early. (7)
18 Reputedly long. (3)
20 Reputedly old in Ireland. (3)
21 Place of hell-fire and damnation. (7)
23 See 5 down.
26 Inelegant, but pretty. (9)
28 See 7 down.
29 Genuine part. (7)
30 Bad letters are; some actors should be. (7)
31 Makes ready and goes down. (4, 3)
32 A performance which might make it clear. (7)
- 4 It's unhealthy at the seaside. (7)
5 and 23 across. Fourth, perhaps. (4, 3, 4)
6 Bother the president! (5)
7 and 28. You probably thought you'd never see a poem like this! (6, 2, 1, 4)
8 This must be stopped! (8)
13 State in which minerals should be found. (3)
16, 17. See 1.
18 Sort of eager to get to the gin mixture? (8)
19 See 1.
22 This sort of ailment is good for almost any body. (7)
23 Does she fleece her fans? (7)
24 See 1.
25 He found things purely a matter of strain. (6)
27 Was the Miller a stout carl for the ninth day before the ides? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 268

ACROSS:—1 PHARMACY; 5 PLACID; 9 MARINER; 10 PACIFIC; 11 LAFITTE; 12 PANNIER; 13 COUNTERWEIGHT; 15 FLYING SAUCERS; 21 ENCLOSE; 22 RAIMENT; 23 TETHERS; 24 NARWHAL; 25 AWNING; 26 MYRMIDON.
DOWN:—1 PAMELA; 2 AURIFIC; 3 MANITOU; 4 CURRENT ASSETS; 6 LICENSE; 7 CUFFING; 8 DECORATE; 10 PAPER CURRENCY; 14 AFTER TEA; 16 YUCATAN; 17 NIOBEAN; 18 EPIGRAM; 19 SEETHED; 20 STALIN.

DOWN

- 1 Bites, in the first place? (6)
2 This bird is quite a speaker. (6)
3 See 1.

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